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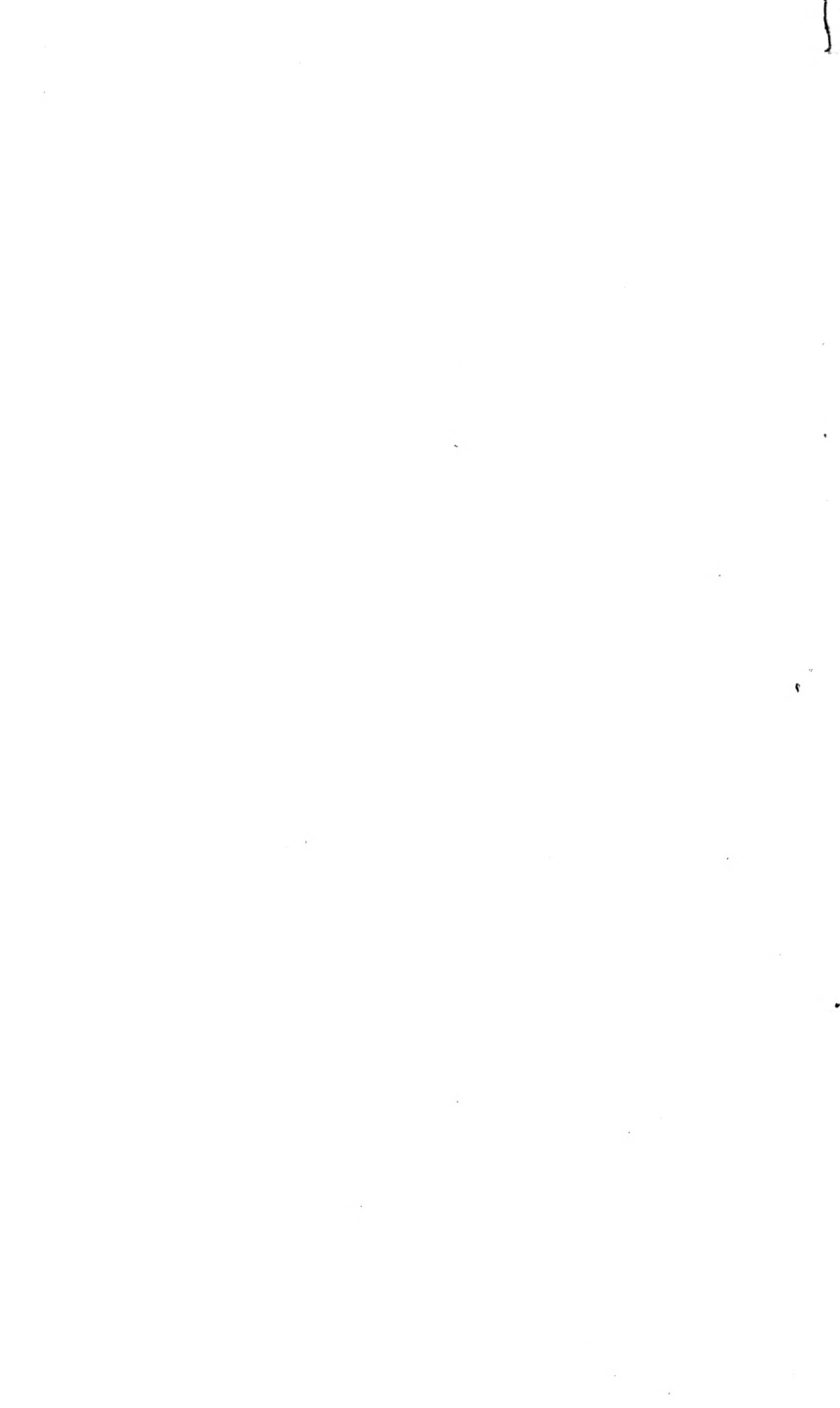
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Presented to the Sem.

by David I. Hanks

Oct 1890



OBSERVATIONS

ON DIVERS

Passages of Scripture.

Placing many of them in a Light *altogether new*;

Ascertaining the Meaning of several *not determinable* by the Methods commonly made use of by the Learned;

Proposing to Consideration *probable Conjectures* on others, different from what have been hitherto recommended to the Attention of the Curious;

And more *amply illustrating* the Rest than has been yet done, by Means of Circumstances incidentally mentioned

IN BOOKS OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

INTO THE EAST:

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I, RELATING TO

I. The *Weather* of JUDÆA.

II. Their *Living in Tents* there.

III. It's *Houses* and *Cities*.

IV. The *Diet* of it's Inhabitants, &c.

V. Their *Manner* of Travelling.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Corrected with Care, and enlarged with many *new* Observations:

Numbers of them taken from some MS. Papers of the celebrated
SIR JOHN CHARDIN.

Impellimur autem Naturâ, ut prodesse velimus quamplurimis imprimisque docendo,
... . Itaque non facile est invenire, qui quod sciat ipse, non tradat alteri.

C I c. de fin. lib. iii.

LONDON:

Printed for J. JOHNSON, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard.

M DCC LXXVI.

T H E P R E F A C E.

LEARNED men have often employed themselves in noting down places of the *Greek Classics*, which they have thought explanatory of passages of Scripture, and many volumes of *observations* of this kind have been published to the world, from whence succeeding commentators have taken them, and placed them in their writings; but modern books of Travels and Voyages, which, if carefully perused, will afford as many observations, as curious, and as useful, have not, I think, been treated after this manner. An attempt then of the kind, which appears in these papers, is, so far as I know, *new*, and as such will, I hope, be received by the public with approbation, or at least with candor.

I do not mean in speaking this to say, that no one of the numerous writers of Travels into the East ever observed the conformity between some of their present customs, and certain corresponding passages of Scripture — It has been done most certainly, and the resemblance has been *so striking*, and the thing *so curious*, that they could not in some cases well avoid taking notice of it; but what I mean is, that no one, that I know of, has set himself *purposely* and *at large*, after the manner of those that have published observations on the ancient Greek writers, to remark these resemblances: an infinite number almost, of very amusing and instructive particulars are taken no notice of; and those *few* that are mentioned are, in a manner, lost amidst a crowd of other matters.

Accounts of countries, very remote from those that were the scene of those transactions which are recorded in the Bible, may pour some light over particular passages of Scripture, in the same way, as Buchanan's relation of the manners of the

ancient inhabitants of *Scotland* may illustrate some circumstances recorded by Homer, whose *Iliad* speaks of *Greek* and *Asiatic Heroes*; for there is a *sameness in human nature every where*, under the like degree of *uncultivatedness*: so we find there were no *professed Surgeons* in old *Scotch* armies, as well as none among those of the *Greek*, but the great warriors themselves understood the art of healing, and practised it; and this skill was reckoned a military accomplishment. The examining, however, the narratives of what Travellers have observed in the *Holy-Land itself*, is still more amusing to the imagination, and, at the same time, may justly be supposed to be more instructive; since *many* of their ancient customs remain *unaltered*, and references to those ancient customs appear every where in the *Scriptures*.

That their customs in general remain unaltered, on which much depends in the following papers, is a fact that admits of no doubt: indeed, it is so incontestable, that the *Baron de Montesquieu*, in his *Spirit of Laws*, has endeavoured to assign a natural cause for it; and whether we admit his explanations, or not, the fact cannot be denied. A *multitude* of writers have mentioned it, and as a thing they were extremely struck with.

The Traveller that has given us the greatest entertainment of this kind, of any that I have met with, is the late *Dr. Shaw*, in that curious and useful book of *Travels*, which was first published in *Folio* in the year 1738, and reprinted nineteen years after in *Quarto*, with some alterations. Yet there are many things which he has omitted, as well as some that will not bear a *close* examination. Nor are his omissions at all
to

to be wondered at, though he was, as his profession obliged him to be, intimately acquainted with the Scriptures, and long lived in the East: for the human mind is naturally very much limited in its operations, and cannot well pursue different things at once; and consequently, as his thoughts were very much taken up in illustrating the Classics, in adding to the treasures of Natural Knowledge, and in forming dissertations on particular points, it is no wonder that he did not observe that many things that he saw, and some that he has related, tended to illustrate passages of Scripture, which he had no particular occasion to consider. A stander-by pays himself no great compliment, in supposing he has remarked some things of this sort, not altogether unworthy of notice, which the Doctor is silent about: for a much less discerning eye than that of such an author, that sets itself purposely, and repeatedly, to compare every occurrence related in a book of Travels, with what he can recollect of the Scriptures that may be thought analogous, must be supposed to observe various things that escaped the notice of the other, and which, for much the same reasons, must escape the observation of those that read such a book in the common way.

Dr. Shaw, however, has done so much of this kind, and so happily illustrated such a number of Scriptures, that in the following papers I shall suppose all my readers are acquainted with his writings, and shall therefore often refer to him, without such attending explanations as might be requisite in another situation; and, at the same time, I shall purposely avoid every thing, that he has *expressly* remarked, of the nature of the ensuing Observations. I shall do the same as to

what other writers of Voyages have taken notice of *in the same way*, as I am limiting myself in these papers to things they have *incidentally* and *undefignedly* mentioned; though a collection of their Observations might be useful, as books of this kind are very expensive, and, at the same time, extremely numerous, and very many may want to ascertain the meaning of those places of Scripture they have illustrated, who may have no opportunity of perusing those authors, or leisure to collect together things that are so *thinly* scattered. But however useful such a work might be, it is not what I am here pursuing: the Observations and Conjectures I propose to present to my readers have not been made by the writers I have used, they only *accidentally* mention the circumstances from whence I have deduced them; nor has *any* other author proposed the same thoughts to the world, so far as I recollect—no! they are *supposed* by me to be *new*, otherwise I had not published them; though amidst such a multitude of books as are to be found in the libraries of the Learned, it is very difficult to say in many points, with positiveness, what is *new*. A man not unfrequently fancies himself a discoverer of what was never known before, when it afterwards appears that *more than one* have said the same thing before him. The same may happen to me, which, however, will be unhappy if it does, as novelty is the chief thing to recommend these Observations; they being *rather* of the *curious and amusing kind*, like *most* of those made by Critics on the Greek Classics, than of any *great importance*.

There is a vast number of books of Travels, which might be read over in pursuing such a design

sign as that I have been forming: it may not be improper then for me to give some account of those *I* have run over, leaving it to others, if they think fit, to examine those that have not fallen in my way.

The earliest writers of this sort, which have furnished me with materials, are those contained in that collection intitled *Gesta Dei per Francos*, printed at Hanover, in the year 1611. The Croisades, which began in the close of the eleventh century, not only occasioned much greater numbers, of the inhabitants of Europe, to visit Palæstine than had been usual in former times, but led several, that were present at those transactions, to publish an account to the world of achievements which they considered not only as *heroic*, but as *sacred*. These writers, which are thirteen in number, in the first tome, besides some other papers, and two in the second, had most of them visited these countries, and some of them possessed places of great distinction in the East.

Rauwolff, a German Physician, though he lived several generations after the writers in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, is the next oldest Traveller into the East that I have searched into. He has mentioned several things designedly to illustrate the Scriptures, and commentators have adopted some of his remarks[†]; but besides these, he has mentioned other matters, which my reader will see *might* have been applied to the same use: but neither did *Rauwolff* put them to that use; nor have any of his numerous readers done it, that I know of. For this reason they have not been taken any notice of by commentators, though

[†] See Patrick on Gen. 18. 6, &c.

they give great clearness to some passages which they had to explain : a circumstance that sets the *propriety* of the present attempt in a very strong light. Rauwolff set out from Augsburg, in his Travels for the East, in May, 1573 ; his Itinerary was, long after it was published, translated from the High-Dutch, and makes the greatest figure in the collection of curious Travels and Voyages published by the celebrated Mr. Ray : the second edition ² of this work of Mr. Ray is that which is made use of in these papers.

Sandys is the next in order of time, who travelled over these countries in the reign of James I. My citations are from the sixth edition of his book, printed in 1670.

The other Voyagers which I have examined, are—*Olearius* in French, translated and augmented by Wicquefort, printed at Amsterdam, with farther enlargements, in 1727. These additions of Wicquefort, and of the later editor, are not distinguished from the original of Olearius ; by which means I may possibly have ascribed to Olearius what does not properly belong to him, of which I thought it was right to give my reader this notice.—*Thevenot*, published at London in English, 1687.—*Sir John Chardin*, London, 1686.—*The Voyage dans la Palestine, fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV*, taken from the papers of Mons. d'Arvieux, who was the person sent to the camp of the Great Emir of the Arabs of Mount Carmel, and published by de la Roque. A very curious performance, and full of circumstances that throw light on the Scriptures. The edition I made use of was that of Amsterdam, 1718.—*The Voyage de Syrie & du Mont-Liban, à Paris*,

² Printed in 1705.

1722, by the same de la Roque, a book much less curious than the last that I mentioned.—The *Voyages de Corneille le Bruyn au Levant, Quarto, à la Haye, 1732.*—The *description de l'Égypte, à Paris, 1735,* drawn up in the form of letters by the Abbot le Mascrier, from the Memoirs of Mons. de Maillet, who resided in Ægypt a long time, as Consul of France. A book drawn up with considerable elegance, but by no means remarkable for its accuracy, notwithstanding the many insinuations it gives us of its authenticity, derived from the *quality* of the author of the Memoirs. I have however given divers extracts from it, which have been the longer, because it has never, so far as I remember, appeared in English, as the others have.—The Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and back again, translated from the manuscript, written by the Prefetto of Ægypt, in company with the Missionaries de propaganda fide at Grand Cairo, &c, Octavo.—Travels in Ægypt and Nubia, by Frederick Lewis Norden, F.R.S, Captain of the Danish navy, published by the command of the King of Denmark, and translated by Dr. Templeman, in Octavo, London, 1757. My reader will not find many extracts from this work; not however because I apprehend it has little value, for these Travels are justly extremely celebrated, but merely because they happen not to contain many materials *proper* for me.

To these are to be added Egmont's and Heyman's *Travels, through part of Europe, — Syria, Palæstine, Ægypt, and Mount Sinai, &c,* translated from the Low-Dutch, and printed for Davis and Reymers, Printers to the Royal Society, 1759: a book from which I have quoted several particulars,

culars, as it is affirmed by the writer, that *he mentioned nothing but what he had himself observed*³; and these Travellers were persons, it should seem, of consideration, Van Egmont being *Envoy Extraordinary* from the United Provinces to the court of Naples, and Heyman *Professor of the Oriental Languages* in the University of Leyden. The translation *however* is visibly full of faults, and the book itself drawn up in a very strange manner. There is not so much as the date of one year *designedly* given us, through the whole work, in which they were at any of the places they have described; on the contrary, dates seem to be *industriously avoided*, and instead of a proper preface, giving an account of the authors, and of the times when they set out on these Voyages, half of it is taken up by an harangue of no consequence at all, about the different objects that catch the attention of different travellers, and the other consists of as loose an account as can well be imagined of the authors, and of the work. We are told indeed that these observations were made in *two* visits which they paid these countries; and that in the first tour they spent *nine* years, and in the second *four*⁴: but we are not told when either of them began or ended, whether they made these Voyages together or apart, or which of the two drew up the account; though the author expresses himself, perhaps, more than is common in writings *of this kind*, in the first person *singular*. However we may, possibly, pretty well supply these omissions, by laying circumstances together. When it is said in the Preface, that this work had *long* been desired by many learned and respectable members of the *Univer-*

³ Vol. I. p. 61. ⁴ *Pref.* p. 6.

sity of Leyden, and that these Travellers *were* well known by the great figure they made, one would guess that these Voyages were made a *considerable time ago*; and that the account was drawn up by him that was a *Member of the University*—by Heyman. When we find an account of some cruelties exercised on the Religious of Mount Carmel, in the year 1716⁵, on the one hand; and on the other, that Antonio Magliabechi was about sixty, when they (or one of them) were at Florence⁶, who is known to have been born in October, in the year 1633; we find there must have been a considerable interval betwixt the first of these tours, of nine years, and the second of four. When that visit to Magliabechi is supposed to have been *soon after* the first tour was undertaken, and that the *Good-Friday*, just before that visit, fell on the *ninth of April*⁷, it appears that this tour must have begun in the close of the year 1693, and that they landed at Leghorn in the following April: Good-Friday being on the ninth of April, N. S, that year, and in that year only, for a considerable time before and after; at which time Magliabechi was sixty years old, and about six months. If we know when the tour began, and that it took up nine years, we know what time it must have ended. The second tour must have commenced after the year 1711, when the Czar Peter the Great was in such a disadvantageous situation at the river *Pruth*, for they visited at Scio the Chan who commanded the Crim Tartars at that time, and who had been in exile before this at Rhodes⁸: on the other hand,

⁵ Vol. 2. p. 6.⁶ Vol. 1. p. 43.⁷ See p. 21 and 22.⁸ Vol. 1. p. 256, 257.

it could not have been above *ten* or *twelve years*, one would think, after that event, since they at the same time paid a visit to a son of this Chan, who had commanded a flying camp of twenty thousand Tartars under his father, and yet was then but about *thirty years of age*⁹. This seems to be confirmed by the date of the Firman, or Imperial Order, which they obtained at Constantinople, to enable them to make this tour with greater advantage, which is dated the first of the moon Manharem, 1033¹⁰: for if we suppose an error *only* in the second figure, *which certainly is wrong*, since the Turkish year 1033 answers the year of our Lord 1623; then 1033 is printed by mistake for 1133, which began in the close of our year 1720, about which time, it should seem by other¹¹ circumstances, this tour began, which took up four years, as we are told in the Preface. The writer or editor might have some particular views in involving his account in all this confusion; but as the perplexity was very disagreeable to me, I have been ready to imagine my reader, if ever he should peruse those Travels, will not be displeas'd with this endeavour to ascertain, with a tolerable exactness, the time of these Tours: and the rather, as there is an error in the *only* date of a year which is given us in the whole book, and given, I believe, without reflecting on it; for a studied care to conceal the time of these Voyages, seems to run through both the Volumes.

As to the *later English Travels*, from which I have collected Observations, I made use of the

⁹ P. 259. ¹⁰ Vol. I. p. 232. ¹¹ These circumstances also shew, that it was at Easter 1721, that they were at Jerusalem; and the summer of the same year in Ægypt.

fifth edition of Maundrell, who has given us a justly-admired relation of his journey, from Aleppo to Jerufalem, at Easter, A. D. 1697; and the fourth edition of Pitts's Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans, printed in 1738. The History of the Piratical States of Barbary, (by a Gentleman that resided there many years in a public character,) which I made use of, was printed at London in 1750. My reader will also find that I have run over the two Volumes, in Folio, of a Description of the East, by Dr. *Richard Pococke*, afterwards a *Bijbop* in Ireland, the first Volume printed in 1743, the second in 1758. Dr. *Russell's* Natural History of Aleppo, in Quarto, 1756; and the Accounts that are prefixed, by a Gentleman of great ingenuity, to those copper-plates, which exhibit so noble a representation of the *Ruins* of Palmyra and Balbec, which were given to the Public within a few years past.

These are all the books of this kind which I have examined, with any thing like a due attention, in pursuing the design which appears in these papers: here and there a quotation may be found from *other* books of no great importance; and one or two from Mr. *Hanway's* Historical Account of the British Trade over the *Caspian Sea*, which I ran over in a cursory manner, before I thoroughly engaged in these disquisitions, and have not since returned to the reading those Volumes.

But besides those books of Travels, of which I have been giving a list, there is another of a different sort, of which I have made a good deal of use, and which therefore ought to be subjoined to the rest, and that is, the Collections of *Monf. d'Herbelot* from the Oriental Authors, called

Bibliothèque Orientale, printed at Paris in 1697: a book too well known among the Learned to need any farther account of it.

There are many Observations, without doubt, besides those I have made, that may be collected from other Travellers, which I have had no opportunity of perusing; and even these I have mentioned I have not examined with such accuracy, as to render a review of them by others useless; not to say, there are many other things that have occurred to *me* in reading them, besides those I have set down, which I have chosen to pass over in silence, for want of sufficient *precision* in those Authors, and of the *means of determining* those matters with greater exactness from *other Writers*, or from *Conversation* with those that have visited these countries.

An opportunity of frequently conversing with such could not fail, assuredly, of furnishing the curious enquirer with many farther particulars, and the *want* of such an aid may be found but too sensibly in the following papers; there is, however, on the other hand, one advantage that arises from this want, and that is, my readers are more effectually secured, than they might otherwise be, from the danger of being imposed upon by a *misunderstanding of facts*, from an over-eagerness to accommodate them to such interpretations of the Scriptures, as on other accounts might appear probable. Here the illustrations that are proposed, are given us without any design of this nature, so nothing of this can produce any misrepresentations in these writers; the only difficulty to the collector is, not to overlook, in such a *multitude* of particulars, those circumstances

that may be happily applied to the giving light to obscure passages.

The making use of that *variety* of Authors, which I have given an account of, has occasioned what may a little perplex *some* of my readers, and perhaps give disgust to *more*: I mean the orthographical variations, which will be found in these papers, such as *Bashaw, Basba, Bassa, Pasba, Pacha*, which are different ways of spelling the title of a great Eastern Officer, made use of by the different Authors of which I have been giving the catalogue; *Sheck, Shekb, Sheik, Cbeikk*, are in like manner the words they make use of to denote a person of eminence among the Arabs; the same may be observed in other cases. I could not avoid this in the extracts I have given from these Travellers, if I gave them with exactness, which I endeavoured to do; nor in my after Observations without, in a sort, taking upon me to decide which was the most proper way of forming these, and other Eastern names, into English words, which I by no means think myself qualified to do, and for that reason I generally, if not always, make use of those terms that the Author I last cited thought fit to employ, my speculations relating to Eastern *customs*, not Eastern *terms*, and the manner of transfusing them with the greatest propriety into our language.

The perusing of Travels is to most people a very delightful kind of reading: but as Gentlemen that publish accounts of this kind to the world, *seldom* think of illustrating the Scriptures; as those that have made observations of this nature content themselves with proposing a *very few*; as large collections of these writers are *very expensive*; and, after all, *numbers of useful things* will

will be found to have been passed over in silence by them *all*; and as most readers will not exercise *patience enough* to make these discoveries in their reading authors of this sort; I have been led to imagine, that the publishing some *observations of this kind*, and especially if formed into a *regular series*, could not well fail of being acceptable to the Public, if executed in any tolerable manner. How far *these papers* answer such an idea, I must leave to my candid and good-natured reader to determine. I have at least endeavoured to obey the precept which a Gentleman in elder life, to whose instructions I paid great deference, gave me at my first setting out in a course of studies—*Make every kind of study pay its contribution to the oracles of GOD.*

If my design succeeds, Commentators will not, I hope, for the future, think they have extended their enquiries far enough, when they examine a text with grammatical nicety; they will, along with that, pay an *unbroken attention* to the *customs of the Eastern people*, and look upon this *additional care* as absolutely necessary to make a *good Commentator*. A deplorable want of which the judicious reader will, with indignation, find in many Commentaries of name, and that where their Authors lived in these very countries, who, by being on the spot, had the greatest opportunities to have made their interpretations much more complete and accurate, by referring *with care* to the Natural History of those places, and *their ancient customs*. The following Observations will shew that St. Jerome is, unhappily, of the number of these.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T

Concerning this SECOND EDITION.

TH E Bookseller being desirous to reprint these papers, I have communicated to him several *additional Observations*, of a like kind with the others, which have occurred to me since the publication of the first edition: some of them derived from authors before consulted, upon an after-reviewing them; but most of them deduced from books of Travels which I had not then seen.

Some of these are mentioned in the Preface to the Outlines of a new Commentary on Solomon's Song, published some years after my Observations: *Hasselquist* in particular, a celebrated Swedish Physician, whose Travels were translated, and printed in 1766; *Busbequius*, an Imperial Ambassador, who gave the world an account of his journey into the East about two hundred years ago, in several letters—that edition that I made use of was printed at Oxford in 1660; and the Letters of *Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, third edition, printed in 1763.

Besides these, I have perused a Voyage to Mount Libanus, by the Rev. Father *Jerome Dandini*, a Nuncio of Pope Clement VIII, who consequently travelled into the East about a hundred and seventy years ago, this was translated from the Italian, and printed in 1698; *Plaisstead's* Journal from Calcutta to Busserah, and from thence across the great desert to Aleppo, &c, in the year 1750, second edition, 1758; a View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Ægypt, and Greece, by *Charles Perry*, M. D, London, 1743; and the Travels of *Alexander Drummond, Esquire*, the British Consul at Aleppo, through several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates, London, 1754; and some others, which I need not distinctly mention.

The above-mentioned writers have furnished me with several particulars: not only some notes of consequence, and some additional clauses in the text, but some entire new Observations. But the greatest advantage to this edition are those additions of *all the various kinds* I have been mentioning, which have been furnished by some MS. papers of the late *Sir John Chardin*, who resided long in the East, was a very curious Observer, and paid a particular attention to such matters as might serve to illustrate passages

of Holy Writ; which led him to make many Observations, very much resembling those that were heretofore published in this work.

There are six small MS. volumes of Sir John, which are still in being, and which I have perused on this occasion. They are referred to in the Preface to his printed Travels, in which he mentions his design of other publications. They consist chiefly of memorandums, written with the *negligence* and *brevity* usual to papers of that kind. For this reason I have frequently translated them in a looser manner than I have done such authors as had finished their papers, and published them to the world; but I have been as careful as I could to retain *his sentiments with exactness*.

His observations sometimes give a new turn to the passages of Scripture which he is endeavouring to elucidate; but *oftener* farther illustrate and confirm the explanations that are to be met with in other writers, and not unfrequently those formerly published in this work. I have selected those that seemed at all suited to the intention of this collection of mine; and I hope these additions will give a considerable degree of pleasure to my readers.

If they should, the public ought to be informed that they are indebted for such instruction and pleasure to Sir Philip Musgrave, Baronet, a descendant of this eminent Traveller, and the proprietor of these MSS, to whom I some time ago returned them. And I beg leave in this public manner to return my thanks to that Gentleman, for granting me the liberty of perusing these papers, and for the permission he gave me of publishing any parts of them that I should select, as proper to be introduced into this work.

An ingenious and benevolent Gentleman, with whom I was totally unacquainted, but who approved of this manner of illustrating the Scriptures, was so obliging as to give me the first notice that there were such papers in being; and to direct me to a dignified Clergyman, of very great distinction both in the Church and the Literary World, by whose means I might hope to obtain a sight of them. This eminent Personage accordingly, though a perfect stranger to me, was so condescending as to employ his interest with Sir Philip Musgrave, to procure me these Manuscripts. This favour, which I should in any circumstance have considered as very great, was extremely enhanced, by the speedy and very complaisant manner in
which

which he conducted this affair ; but I am not allowed to mention his name, whose favours I should have been glad to have *distinctly* acknowledged with the deepest gratitude.

Some of my Readers would have been pleased, very possibly, with the publication of several particulars of these MSS, considered merely as detached remarks from the papers of an eminent Traveller ; but as explaining or illustrating several passages of Scripture, the satisfaction, I persuade myself, as to many, will be considerably augmented. How happy would it be, if Gentlemen of figure and genius, that delight in travelling, would more frequently direct their disquisitions to the same sacred and elevated purpose !

The letters MS. and MSS. are well known to be abbreviations of the words Manuscript and Manuscripts. My readers will easily imagine, when they find these abbreviations with the letter C joined to them, that they point out these papers of Sir John Chardin.

The very incorrect manner in which the first edition of this work was printed has given me a great deal of uneasiness : I have taken considerable pains that this may be less faulty, as to errors of the press.

The additional Observations of course occasion many of the others to be differently numbered from what they were in the first edition ; but, as the reader may possibly sometimes meet with references to some of these Observations as they were numbered in the first edition, I have placed those numbers in the margin, that no confusion or trouble might arise from these alterations, so far as I could prevent them. I have also included the additional Observations and Notes in crotchets [], that those that only chuse to examine these enlargements, may be able to separate them, without trouble, from the rest.

The purchasers of the first edition may perhaps be inclined to be somewhat uneasy with so many additions ; but those that are of a benevolent spirit will be willing, I persuade myself, to forgive my endeavouring farther to illustrate these matters, referred to by the Sacred Writers. Those, however, that purchase this edition, may be assured I shall make no farther additions, if the candor of the Public should make any future edition wanted. Should any thing of importance hereafter present itself, I should rather chuse to throw such matters into a separate publication, and, perhaps, into some different form.

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I cannot help afresh expressing my wish, at the close of this Advertisement, that care might be taken to send proper persons into these countries, with a direct view to illustrate matters of this kind. I observed at the end of the first edition, in an Advertisement there, which it is unnecessary to reprint with the rest, that the learned world is extremely indebted to the late King of Denmark, for his readiness to gratify the curious Michaelis, by sending a number of Academicians into the East for this very purpose : but the effort has not had all the success that could be wished.

Distinguished by many other advantages, which it possesses, I am ambitious that my *native country* should distinguish itself also in *such* a truly laudable pursuit. Expeditions to the South-Seas, and even to Scotland, have furnished many objects of great *curiosity*, and may answer very valuable purposes, with respect to matters of *learning* as well as *civil life* ; but what I am now wishing for would be attended with beneficial consequences of a SACRED nature.

Justice, however, requires me to observe, that Lieut. Niebuhr, the only surviving Danish Academician, who very laudably extended his cares beyond his proper department, and has done all he could to retrieve matters, has published a volume, in consequence of this expedition, which I have seen, and the reader will meet with some remarks in these papers drawn from that work.

A learned and very ingenious friend of mine *, who has resided many years in Holland, has also lately informed me, that Niebuhr has published a second volume, which I never saw ; and that a third is expected very soon, containing the Journal of this expedition. He, at the same time, obligingly added, that my Observations have been so well relished by the *Literati of the Continent*, that they have been translated into French, and some other languages of those countries : this is throwing an honour on these Observations which I had no expectation of, and which, united with the kind reception these papers have met with at *home*, abundantly recompense me for all the pains and expense, the forming this Collection at first, and the enlarging it since, have cost me.

Watesfield, near Bury St. Edmund's,
Suffolk, Aug. 22, 1775.

THOMAS HARMER.

* The Rev. Mr. Sowden of Rotterdam.

C H A P. I.

Concerning the Weather in the Holy-Land.

THE design of these papers is *rather* to illustrate the *customs* that are mentioned, or alluded to, in the sacred writings, than the references there to *natural philosophy*; some account, however, of the *weather* of this country will, I imagine, be agreeable, since the references to it are so very numerous, and nothing like a particular description of it is any where, that I know of, to be met with.

The accurate account that Dr. Ruffeil hath given us of the weather at Aleppo, would make one regret that no author, among the numerous describers of the Holy-Land, has given us such an history of the weather of that country. It hurts one the more, as these observations might have been made without danger, or offence. Geographical surveys of it, among so *jealous* a people, might cost a virtuoso his life; the wild Arabs, it is complained¹, render even searches after plants, and other natural curiosities, extremely dangerous; but *observations on the weather* might

¹ Shaw's Pref. p. 9.

be made with as much safety as an European can reside in any place there—might be made without stirring out of a convent.

Nor is great *nicety* required in observations of this kind. It may be left to those that live in more commodious countries, to endeavour to give an account of the weather which shall be *philosophically* complete. The *flat-roof* of any building that hath but one spout for carrying off the water, might be a *measurer* of the different quantities of the *fallen rain* sufficiently accurate; as the setting down the *times* in which they fall, together with the *direction of the wind*, the *consequences* of its blowing from different *quarters*, and a few other things, which the senses might judge of without the help of any curious *philosophical* instruments, might be sufficient for illustrating the Scriptures which relate to the weather: for they speak of these matters in a popular way only. But I do not know that this has been done with any thing of copiousness and particularity, much less for any *number of years*. Hereafter, perhaps, the *Royal* or the *Antiquarian Society* may procure these observations to be made; or even some private gentleman, whose curiosity has a *devout turn*: in the mean time I would beg leave to lay before the Public a *collection of remarks* of this kind, such as I have been able to draw together from those books which have fallen into my hands. This, I hope, may not be altogether *unentertaining*, nor indeed

deed wholly *useless*, though I am sensible it is very incomplete, and this notwithstanding I have adopted the accounts which are given us of some other countries, where the weather, there is reason to apprehend, is much the same as in Judæa.

I will only take the liberty farther to remark, now I am speaking on this subject, and looking forward with expectation and hope to what may hereafter be done by the curious, that it may be agreeable not to forget, that the weather *differs considerably in different parts of the Holy-Land*. Not to mention the observation of Dr. Shaw, who affirms² that the country from Tripoly to Sidon is much colder than the rest of the coast, farther North as well as farther South, and has a less regular change of the seasons, since these places are hardly within the Jewish limits; I would observe that Reland assures us,³ on the authority of some who had been in that country, that the air and soil of the mountainous part of Judæa are much colder than of the sea-coast, and the productions much backwarder there than in the neighbourhood of Gaza. Egmont and Heyman, in like manner, tell us⁴ that the air of Saphet in Galilee is from its high situation so fresh and cool, that the heats, which during the summer are very great in the adjacent country, are here hardly felt. Josephus took notice of such

² P. 333.

³ Palæst. p. 387.

⁴ V. 2. p. 47.

differences anciently, and tells us that it was warm near Jericho, when it snowed in other places of Judæa; ⁵ an account which will not appear hard to be believed to those who have read in Egmont and Heyman, ⁶ that they found the air about Jericho extremely troublesome on account of its *great heat*, which some years is quite insupportable, and actually proved *fatal* ⁷ to several the year before they were there, though Easter, at which time these pilgrimages are made, then happened in the *month of March*. They then who would make their services of this kind quite satisfactory, should furnish the learned world with observations on the weather, as it is at Jerufalem; at Jericho; at Gaza, or

⁵ De Bell. Jud. l. 4. cap. viii. Ed. Haverc. ⁶ V. 1. p. 333.

[⁷ The heat also proved deadly to several people in the army of K. Baldwin IV. upon fighting a battle, not far from Tiberias in Galilee, and consequently in a situation considerably more to the North than Jericho. But this appears, by what the Archbishop of Tyre says, to have been in the middle of summer, perhaps the end of June, or beginning of July; for he doth not mention the time exactly. "It ought not to be passed over in silence," says this writer, *Gesta Dei &c.* p. 1028, "that the Heat at that time was so *unusually* great, that as many died, in both "armies, by the *Heat* as by the *Sword*." He adds, that after the battle, in their return to their former encampment, a certain Ecclesiastic, of some distinction in the Church and in the army, "not being able to bear the *vehemence* of "the *Heat*, was carried in a Litter, yet expired under "Mount Tabor, near the River Kishon." Reland, in his *Palestina*, p. 992, shews *Shunem* was in the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor, and at Shunem, it should seem, the Heat proved deadly to a child in the days of the prophet Elisha, in the time of Harvest, 2 Kings iv. 18, 19, 20.]

some neighbouring place on that shore; in different places of Galilee; and, perhaps, I might add, at Canobin. *What I have been able to do*, will appear in the following particulars.

OBSERVATION I.

In *England*, and its neighbouring countries, it is common for *rain* to fall in *all months of the year*; but it is not so in the *Levant*. Every one knows *Ægypt* has scarce any rain at all; and Dr. Shaw affirms that it is as uncommon in most parts of what they call at Algiers the Desert, which is the most Southern part of that country. But these are particular cases. *Rain indiscriminately in the winter-months, and none at all in the summer*, is what is most common in the East: so it is at Aleppo¹; and about Algiers²; and so Jacobus de Vitriaco assures us³ it is in Judæa, for he observes that *lightning and thunder are wont, in the Western countries, to be in the summer, but happen in the Holy-Land in winter. That in the summer it seldom or never rains there; but in winter, though the returns of rain are not so frequent, after they begin to fall they pour down, for three or four days and nights together, as vehemently as if they would drown the country.*

This is one of the most distinct accounts I have any where met with of the weather of

¹ See Ruffell. ² Shaw. ³ Vide Gesta Dei per Francos, v. I. p. 1097, 1098.

Judæa, and it is the more valuable, as he was not a mere titular Bishop of St. John d'Acre, but spent some time in that country, and wrote his history of Jerusalem in the East, after being engaged in many transactions there, as appears by his book. I shall have occasion hereafter to take notice of all these particulars, relating to the weather, at present I only observe, that, conformably to what happens in other countries thereabouts, the summers of Judæa are usually perfectly dry. Josephus confirms this as to Galilee, de Bell. Jud. Lib. iii. c. 7.

Bp. Patrick therefore, when he paraphrases those words of the Psalmist, *my moisture is turned into the drought of summer*, “ My body was consumed and parched like
“ the grass of the earth, in the midst of the
“ *driest summer,*” seems rather to write like a mere Englishman, than to design to express the exact thought of David. All their summers are dry, and the withered appearance of an Eastern summer, in common, is doubtless what the Psalmist refers to, without thinking of any particular year of drought. Dr. Russell's account of a Syrian summer, which the reader will meet with by and by, is the most beautiful comment that can be met with on this passage.

It was owing, probably, to a like cause, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, speaks †

† Lib. v. cap. 6. Hist.

of Judæa as a country that had not many showers; whereas a contemporary historian⁵, who perfectly knew its nature, affirms that a *great deal* of rain fell there. Tacitus lived here in the West, and comparing, it may be imagined, a summer in Judæa with what happens in Germany and France, he calls it a country of little rain.

This representation of a Jewish summer forbids our admitting the interpretation the learned and ingenious Dr. Delany has given us of this verse, in his history of the life of David.⁶ He supposes the words, *my moisture is turned into the drought of summer*, signify that the change was, *as if he had been removed at once from the depth of winter, into Midsummer; as if all the storms, and rain, and clouds, of that gloomy season (the finest emblem of grief,) were changed, at once, into serenity and sunshine: the heavens clear, unclouded, and smiling upon him.* But the moisture David speaks of has not been usually understood to refer to winter, and to mean tears of grief; it may also undoubtedly, *full as well at least*, be considered as an image derived from the spring, which is agreeably moist in those countries. And on the other hand, midsummer there, though clear and unclouded, is no just representation of a state of pleasantness: for this we have not only the *decisive* authority of natural historians, but even grammarians derive the

⁵ Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 3. p. 26, 27.

⁶ V. 3.

word which signifies summer, from a root which points out the troublesome of its heats⁷.

OBSERVATION II.

But though commonly there is no rain at Aleppo through the whole summer, yet sometimes there is such a thing as a smart *thunder-shower*.

So Dr. Russell tells us¹, that in the night betwixt the first and second of July, 1743, some severe thunder-showers fell, but adds that it was a thing *very extraordinary* at that season. Possibly it may be more uncommon still at Jerusalem, for St. Jerome, who lived long in the Holy-Land, denies, in his commentary on Amos, his having ever seen rain in those provinces, and especially in Judæa, *in the end of June, or in the month of July*; but if it should be found to be otherwise, and that, though St. Jerome had never seen it, such a thing may now and then happen there, as it did at Aleppo while Dr. Russell resided in that city, the fact recorded 1 Sam. xii. 16, 17, 18. might nevertheless be an authentic proof of what Samuel affirmed: since a very *rare and unusual* event, immediately happening, without any preceding appearance of such a thing, upon the predic-

⁷ Kutz, tædio affici, fortè quod tum homines nonnihil molestiâ afficiantur ob Calorem Solis, says Bythner in his Lyra, p. 175.

¹ P. 161.

tion of a person professing himself to be a prophet, and giving this as an attestation of his being a messenger of God, is a sufficient proof of a divine mission, (as is also its happening at any after-time, *distinctly* marked out,) though a like event has sometimes happened without any such declared interposition of God, and therefore understood, on all hands, to be casual and without design. Bp. Warburton has sufficiently argued this point in his Julian, where he supposes those fiery eruptions, crosses, &c, which happened upon that emperor's attempt to build the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, were such as have happened at other times, without any particular meaning, and yet, *as they were then circumstanced*, were an authentic attestation to the truth of christianity. It should not be forgotten that this thunder and rain of Samuel seem to have been in the *day-time*, and while Samuel and the Israelites continued together, solemnizing Saul's inauguration, which circumstance added considerably to the energy of this event, Dr. Russell informing us², that the rains in those countries usually fall in the night, as did those uncommon thunder-showers of July, 1743.

OBSERVATION III.

This *drought in summer* occasions frequent waterings in Judæa.

² P. 148.

Dr. Pococke, in his journey from Acre to Nazareth¹, observed a well, from whence water, drawn up by oxen, was carried by women in earthen jars up an hill, to water plantations of tobacco. He mentions another well presently after, whose water was drawn up by boys in leather buckets, and carried off in jars by women as before.

If it should be asked now, how doth this agree with those passages of Scripture² that distinguish the Holy-Land from Ægypt, by its drinking the rain from heaven, while Ægypt was watered with the foot? The answer, I imagine, that should be returned is this—Those passages *themselves* suppose gardens of herbs, and consequently such plantations as these, were to be watered by *art* in the Jewish country, and the difference designed to be pointed out, was the necessity the Ægyptians were under of *watering their corn-lands* in the same manner, to prepare them for sowing; whereas the lands of Judæa are prepared *by the descent of rain*. These lands of Ægypt, indeed, are watered by the overflowing of the Nile, and are by that so saturated with moisture, that Maillet assures us³ they want *no more watering* for the producing of corn, and several other things, though the gardens require fresh supplies of moisture every three or four days; but then it is to be remembered that *immense labour* was

¹ V. 2. p. 61. ² Deut. xi. 10, 11. ³ Descript. de l'Égypte, Let. 9. p. 5.

requisite to conduct the waters of the Nile to *many* of their lands: Maillet himself celebrates ⁴ those works of the ancient kings of Ægypt, by which they distributed the waters of the Nile through their whole country, as the greatest, the most magnificent, and the most admirable of all their works; and these labours which they caused their subjects to undergo, doubtless, were designed to prevent much heavier which they must otherwise have submitted to ⁵. And perhaps there might be an *emphasis* in those words of Moses, which has not of late been at all understood: for Maillet tells us ⁶, that he was assured that the large canal which filled the cisterns of Alexandria, and which is at least fifteen

⁴ Let. 2. p. 45.

[⁵ The MS. C, in a note on Prov. xvii. 14, informs us, *that great brawlings frequently attend the opening these watering Canals in the East*, and he supposes that Interpreters have not well understood that text, which he imagined referred to these Brawlings. According to this, the sense of the Royal Preacher is, *leave off Contention, before it be meddled with, for Strife will be like the Brawlings at opening a watering Canal*: but is not this saying Strife will be like Strife? The Jews certainly, whether they had, or had not, instances of that kind in their own country, were not unacquainted with the terrible effects of inundations, which sometimes destructive as they are arise from *small* breaches, 2 Sam. v. 20, and Lam. ii. 13—“Thy Breach is great like the Sea,” or rather, “like a Sea” (some mighty Lake) “who can heal thee?” plainly prove this. And to destructive events of this kind Solomon, I should imagine, refers, and compares the beginning of Strife to these small outlets, which are every moment enlarging, till the inundation proves irrecoverably destructive.]

⁶ Let. iv. p. 144. Let. ix. p. 5, 6.

leagues long, was entirely paved, and its sides lined and supported by walls of *brick*, which were as perfect as they were in the times of the Romans : if *bricks* were used in the construction of their *more ancient* canals, and *those made by the Israelites* in Ægypt designed for purposes of this kind, they must have heard with great pleasure the words of Moses, assuring them the country to which they were going would want *no canals* to be dug, no bricks to be prepared for paving and lining them, in order to water it, which labours had been so bitter to them in Ægypt. Exod. i. 14. favours this account : hard bondage in mortar and brick is joined there with other services of the *field*. Philo understands ⁷ those services of the field, of digging canals and cleansing them, and the mortar and the brick are in this view very naturally joined with them.

Dr. Shaw has explained ⁸ the term *watering with the foot* : may I take the liberty of adding to it, that this way of watering, by conveying a little stream to the root of plants, is so universal, that though the Misna forbids all watering of plants in the seventh year, as contrary to their law, R. Eleazar allows the watering the *leaf* of a plant, though not the root ⁹ ? A stranger to the Eastern management would hardly know what to make of this indulgence.

⁷ See Patrick on the place. Shebiith,

⁸ P. 408

⁹ In tit.

OBSERVATION IV.

As the summers of the Holy-Land are perfectly dry, it's winters are wet.

At Palmyra ¹, and Mount Sinai ², it seldom rains but at the *Equinoxes*; and Lightfoot seems to have imagined there was *nearly* the same limitation on the rain in Judæa, for he supposes that excepting the rains of Marheshvan and Nisan, there was generally no rain in that country. ³ But Lightfoot was mistaken, its weather is very different from what it is at Palmyra and Mount Sinai, and more resembles the weather at Aleppo and Algiers, according to the descriptions of Russell and Shaw: that is, the winter months are *indiscriminately* more or less wet. This sufficiently appears by what I have cited out of Jacobus de Vitriaco ⁴, and is confirmed by other authors in that collection intitled *Gesta Dei per Francos*. So the Archbishop of Tyre ⁵, giving us an account of the Prince of Antioch's journey to Jerusalem, soon after it was taken, telleth us that many of his company through want of food, intenseness of the cold, and *heaviness of the rains*, perished, adding, for it was winter, the month of *December*. That month then, is often a rainy one. Fulcherius Carnotensis, who was in this journey,

¹ Ruins of Palmyra, p. 37. ² Shaw, p. 438. ³ V. 2. 409.

⁴ Under the first Obf. ⁵ P. 771

and

and saw many of both sexes dye with his own eyes, and numbers of their beasts, says, they were kept wet *for four or five days together* by the continual rains. ⁶ In like manner this William of Tyre also tells us, that K. Baldwin IV. of Jerufalem returned to Afcalon, after having gained a great victory in its neighbourhood over the troops of Saladine, on the 25th of November 1175, or 1176, in order to give time for his forces, who were scattered in pursuing the enemy, to reassemble, which they did in four days; this, he remarks, was a very lucky circumstance, because on the following day, and so on for ten days successively, such was the *quantity of rain* that fell, and such the severity of the cold, that the elements seemed to conspire the ruin of such troops as were unsheltered, obliging those of Saladine to surrender themselves. Judæa then is not one of those places where it only rains at the Equinoxes, *these severe showers being in December*. Fulcherius Carnotensis likewise, in giving an account of another expedition, tells us it was undertaken in the showery month of February⁷: that then is also a *wet month*: and consequently the winter months are rainy, indiscriminately.

And accordingly the Hebrew word Choreph, which we translate winter, seems

⁶ P. 1010, 1011. ⁷ P. 421. Dum mensis Februus adhuc imbribus hybernis terras cohiberet.

rather precisely to mean the *wet season*. “O that I were as in months past,” says Job, ch. xxix. 2, 4, “as in the days when God preserved me,—as I was in the days of my *winter!*” In the days of his moist time, that is, when, as he expresses it in the 19 and 20 verses, “My root was spread out by the waters, and the dew lay all night upon my branch, my glory was fresh in me.” Not in the days of his disgrace then, the days in which he was stripped of his ornaments, as an herb of its leaves and flowers in the *winter*, but like a plant in the latter part of the rainy season, before the violent heats and drought come on which scorch and burn up every thing.

Buxtorf in his Epitome supposes, indeed, that this word, which is derived from a root signifying dishonour and reproach, is made use of to express the time of winter, because it dishonours the trees or shrubs by taking away their greenness and splendor; but may it not be as well occasioned by the *disagreeableness* that, in one view of things, attend the *rainy season*? “when,” as a polite writer^s expresses it, “the heavens are filled with clouds, when the earth swims in rain, and all nature wears a lowering countenance.” A description which by its force almost induces that melancholy on the mind, which those uncomfortable scenes, those dark disconsolate seasons so often bring upon it.

^s Spect. N^o 83.

OBSERVATION V.

Their winters too are, as appears from the preceding citations, very *cold and severe*, at least in some years, and some places.

Fulcherius Garnotensis *saw* the cold prove *deadly* to many. Jacobus de Vitriaco ¹ informeth us that the same thing happened to many of the poorer people, engaged in an expedition in which he himself was concerned, against Mount Tabor: they had suffered severely the preceding days by cold, but on the 24th of December it was so sharp, that many of the poor people, and of the beasts of burden, actually died. Albertus Aqueusis telleth us ² the same thing happened to thirty of the people that attended King Baldwin Ist, in the mountainous districts of Arabia by the dead-sea, where they had to conflict with horrible hail, with ice, and unheard of snow and rain. We have sometimes, it may be, wondered that an *Eastern author*, in an hymn composed *for the use of those warmer climates*, should say of God, “He giveth his snow like
“ wool, ³ he scattereth the hoar-frost like
“ ashes,

¹ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1130. ² P. 307.

[³ If the snow in Judæa was likewhats falls in some countries of the East, there is a greater energy in these words than we are aware of in common, as Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on this passage, telleth us, *that towards the Black-Sea, in Iberia and Armenia, and he should imagine therefore in some other countries, the Snow falls in flakes as*
big

“ ashes, he casteth forth his ice like mor-
 “ fels: *who can stand before his cold?*” Pf.
 cxlvii. 16, 17. The preceding citations may
 remove that wonder.

But how do these accounts agree with St.
 Jerome’s description of the Holy-Land, in
 a letter to Marcella? “ If it is summer,
 “ the shade of the trees will afford a place
 “ of retirement: if autumn, the leaves un-
 “ der the trees, united with the *temperate-*
 “ *ness of the air*, will point out a place where
 “ you may enjoy yourself in quiet. In the
 “ spring the ground is painted with flowers,
 “ and the singing of psalms will be more
 “ sweet when joined with the music of birds.
 “ If it be the time of wintry cold and snow,
 “ I will buy no wood, and yet be warmer,
 “ [than you at Rome,] whether sleeping or
 “ waking. At least I am sure I shall guard
 “ myself from cold with less fuel⁴.” This
 father lived long in that country, but he was
 no stranger to the arts of declamation, is all

*big as walnuts, but not being either hard, or very compact, it
 does no other hurt than presently covering and overwhelming a
 person.* This is to us Englishmen a curiosity belonging to
 Natural History; and if David was acquainted with such
 snow, he might well say, “ He giveth snow like wool:”
 Certainly a flake of snow as big as a walnut, would to a
 British eye at a distance, appear more like a small lock of
 wool than what it really was.]

⁴ Si Æstas est, secretum arboris umbra præbebit: si au-
 tumnus, ipse aeris temperies, & strata subter folia, locum
 quietis ostendunt. Vere ager floribus pingitur, & inter
 querulas aves psalmi dulcius cantabuntur. Si frigus &
 brumales nives, ligna non coemam, & calidius vigilabo, vel
 dormiam. Certè quod sciam vilius non algebo.

this exaggeration? It is not: and if I may be allowed to give here the *substance* of Dr. Ruffell's account of the weather at Aleppo, which I have already observed, more than once, very much resembles that of Judæa, this difficulty may be removed, a farther light thrown on some preceding remarks, and I shall be enabled to propose many things yet to come, on this subject, much more advantageously than otherwise I can do.

The substance then of the Doctor's account is, *that the seasons at Aleppo are very regular. That the first rains fall about the middle of September, and greatly refresh the air, which was before extremely hot, and if the rains have been at all plentiful, though of few hours duration, they give a new face to the country, which looked before extremely barren and parched. That from the first rains to the second, the interval is at least between twenty and thirty days, and that time the weather is temperate, serene, and extremely delightful. That after the second rains the weather is variable till May, from the end of which, (if not sooner,) not so much as one refreshing shower falls, and scarce a friendly cloud appears to shelter from the excessive heat of the sun, till about the middle of September. That the verdure of the spring fades before the middle of May, and before the end of that month the whole country puts on so parched and barren an aspect, that one would scarce think it capable of producing any thing, there being but very few plants which have vigour enough to resist the*

ex-

extreme heat. That the more delicate never make fires till about the end of November, and some few pass the whole winter without them. That the trees begin to lose their leaves before the middle of that month, and the generality of them begin to be stripped then. That the natives reckon the severity of the winter, which they call Maarbanie, to last but forty days, beginning from the 12th of December, and ending the 20th of January; and that this computation comes in fact very near the truth. That the air during this time is excessively piercing, even to them that are but just come from a cold climate; however that in the depth of winter, when the sun is out, and there is no wind, it is warm, nay sometimes almost hot, in the open air. That in the thirteen years that he resided there, the ice was not above three times of sufficient strength to bear a man, and this only in the shade and with using caution: and that snow, excepting three years, never laid above a day. That narcissuses are in flower during the whole of this weather, and hyacinths and violets at the latest appear before it is quite over. That as February advances, the fields which were partly green before, now by the springing up of the latter grain become entirely covered with an agreeable verdure: and though the trees continue in a leafless state till the end of this month, or beginning of March, yet the almond when latest being in blossom before the middle of February, and quickly succeeded by the apricot and peach, &c, gives the gardens an agreeable appearance, and the spring becomes exceeding

pleasant. To this account the Doctor, in the cloſe of the book, added a diſtinct deſcription of the weather of the ſeveral months, and a ſtill more minute hiſtory of the weather of the years 1752 and 1753, which the more curious will do well to conſult.

St. Jerome then is not all rhetoric. In the depth of winter it is frequently *warm*, nay almoſt *hot*, in the *open air*; and conſequentially in the interval, betwixt the *fall of the leaf* in November, and the coming on of the *depth of winter*, a recluſe might enjoy himſelf *very comfortably* in his meditations abroad. On the other hand, it is frequently *piercingly cold* from the 12th of December to the 20th of January, even to thoſe that are lately come out of a cold climate, and this joined with great labours and faſtings might eaſily prove fatal to thoſe that had no tents, and were without other accommodations, as J. de Vitriaco (in the *Geſta Dei per Francos*) affirms it did to many. Nor is it at all ſtrange that a continual wet, and the cold on the top of mountains, ſhould produce the ſame effect earlier in the year, as it ſeems they did, from what Fulcherius Carnotenſis and Albertus Aquenſis have told us; for Egmont and Heyman complain of the *ſeverity of the cold on the top of Mount Sinai*⁵, in July or the beginning of Auguſt, the hotteſt time of the year.⁶ Agreeably to this Sandys affureth us

⁵ V. 2. p. 169.

⁶ As appears from other places of that work.

that when he was at Sidon, a Moor, who was returning with an English merchant from Damascus, *perished with cold* on the top of Antilibanus, *while the heat was excessive* in the vallies on each side.

If the rains of December are sometimes so extremely cold in the Holy-Land, we shall not at all wonder when we recollect this circumstance, notwithstanding what St. Jerome has said, that the people in a public assembly held in the open air, on the 20th of the 9th month, that is some time in December, and which proved a wet time, should shudder with cold, “ All the people sat in the street of the house of God,” says the sacred historian, “ trembling because of this matter, and “ for the *great rain.*” Ezra x. 9.

St. Jerome *himself*, elsewhere, supposes the cold of *that country* to be frequently too severe, to be borne by those that might be glad to secrete themselves for fear of their lives, for so in his letter to Algasia ⁷ he understands, as to the literal sense, the direction of our Lord to his disciples to pray that their flight might not be in winter, the severity of the cold being such as would not permit them to conceal themselves in the deserts. Agreeable to this, and at the same time a lively comment on these words of our Lord, is that account William of Tyre gives ⁸ of the state of Saladine's troops, after their defeat in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, which I took some

⁷ V. 3. p. 160.

⁸ Gesta Dei per Fr. p. 1011.

notice of under the last observation, but which ought here to be more particularly set down. *They for haste threw away their armour and clothes, ° but so sunk under the cold, with want of food, tediousness of the ways, and greatness of the fatigue, that they were daily taken captives in the woods, mountains, and wilderness, and sometimes threw themselves in the way of their enemies rather than perish with cold and want. “ Pray ye that your flight “ be not in the winter.”*

OBSERVATION VI.

Severe however as sometimes the cold weather is in these countries, Dr. Russell observes, that even in the depth of that season when the sun is out, and there is no wind, it is *warm*, nay sometimes *almost hot*, in the open air; and Dr. Pococke informs us that the people there enjoy it, for the Copties spend their *holy-days* in sauntering about, and *sitting under their walls in winter*, and under shady trees in summer †.

This doubtless is to be understood of those of the poorer sort, who have no places more proper for conversation with their friends: the better sort of houses in the east having *porches, or gate-ways*, according to Dr. Shaw, with benches on each side, *where the Master*

° Vestium genera quælibet, not all their clothing absolutely, but their hykes and burnooses, (according to Dr. Shaw's remark, p. 226.)—which they found intangled them, and retarded their flight.

† Trav. into the East, v. I. p. 176.

of the family receives visits, and dispatches business, few persons, not even the nearest relations, having farther admission, except upon extraordinary occasions².

Will not these two circumstances greatly illustrate those words of Ezekiel,³ “ Also thou son of man, the children of thy people are still talking against thee,” or rather concerning thee, “ *by the walls, and in the doors of the houses, and speak one to another, every one to his brother, saying, come, I pray you, and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the Lord?*”

It is somewhat strange that our translators should have rendered the words talking against thee, when the Septuagint rendered them *of, or concerning* thee; when it is the same hebrew particle that is used Ps. 87. 3, “ Glorious things are spoken *of* thee O city of God;” and when the following words incontestably show, they were speaking honourably of Ezekiel, and indeed assuming the appearance of those Malachi mentions, in a passage where the same conjugation of the verb is used as in this of Ezekiel, “ Then they that feared the Lord, *spake often* one to another, and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.” Mal. 3. 16.

It was *winter*, the tenth month, answering the latter end of December and first part of

² P. 207.

³ Ch. 33. 30.

January, when these things were transacted⁴, therefore they sat under the *walls* for the benefit of the sun, rather than under trees to avoid its heat, while they talked *concerning* Ezekiel; while persons among them *in better circumstances* sat in their *porches* or *gate-ways*.

That they use their porches or gate-ways in *winter* as well as summer, appears from Dr. Pococke's waiting on a person of distinction in upper Ægypt, [an Aga of the Janizaries,] whom he found sitting, *according to their customs*, under the gate-way of his house, when he made him this visit on the 29th or 30th of December⁵.

The explanation of those commentators then must appear something like impertinence, who make their talking of Ezekiel by the walls, and in the doors of their houses, signify the same thing with their talking of him in their public places of concourse, and in their private meetings.

As this sitting and talking under the walls is particularly practised by the Coptics in their *holy-days*, may not these words of Ezekiel be supposed also to refer to such times? and if so, will they not show that the Israelites observed their *Sabbaths* in the captivity? and that so early as the time of the first destruction of Jerusalem they used to assemble to the Prophets on those days, to hear if they had received any messages from the Lord in that week, and to receive those advices

⁴ Ezek. 33. 21.

⁵ V. I. p. 83.

their calamitous circumstances made peculiarly feasonable? those assemblies *might* be more ancient, but of this antiquity *at least* the passage here seems to make them. Such another assembly, it may be, was that mentioned Ch. 8. 1.

OBSERVATION VII.

King Jehoiakim is described as sitting in his winter-house, in the ninth month (which answers to the latter end of November and part of December) *with a fire burning upon the hearth before him*, Jer. 36. 22. This answers Russell's account, who says the *most delicate* make no fires till *the end of November*.

How long they continue the use of them he doth not say, but we know, from other hands, that they continue to use them in Judæa far into the spring: for Bp. Pococke set out ¹ for Jerufalem on the 17th of *March* in the evening, and was conducted by an Arab guide to his Tent, which was two or three miles off; there he was treated with bread and coffee, he, the Arab's wife, and some other people, he tells us, sitting by a *fire*. He goes farther, for he says ² that in the night of the 8th of *May* the Sheik of Sefhoury, [a place in Galilee,] made them a *fire*, in a ruined little building, and *sent* them boiled milk, eggs, and coffee: the fire therefore was not designed for the preparing their

¹ V. 2. p. 5.

² P. 62.

food,

food, but for the *warming* them. No wonder then that the people who went to Gethsemane, to apprehend our Lord, thought a fire of coals a considerable refreshment at the time of the Passover³, which must have been earlier in the year than the 8th of May, though it might be *considerably later* than the 17th of March.

[It may not be amiss to add, that as they use fires against the cold of their winters, they also use *furred garments* in these countries, *on the account of cold*, very frequently, which is a circumstance that, I believe, must occasion a good deal of surprize to many of my readers.

So Dr. Russell informs us, that *the vests that are worn by well-dressed people, in the spring or autumn, are not unfrequently lined with short-haired furs, as sable, ermin, squirrel, &c; and that the robe which constitutes a full dress in the winter, is lined with long-haired fur, such as is taken from the ounce, foxes of different kinds, &c*⁴. Some of them also *sleep in winter in their furs*⁵.

As in collecting their prey, the Israelites were wont to gather together what was most valuable and magnificent⁶, it is not impossible that the things made of skins, mentioned Numb. 31. 20, might mean such kind of dresses; but I cannot by any means persuade myself, with Sir J. Chardin in his

³ John 18. 18. ⁴ P. 101. note. Which description is preceded, by an instructive copper-plate, relating to dresses. ⁵ P. 90. ⁶ See Josh. 7. 21.

MS, that when Solomon says, “ the lambs “ are for thy clothing,” Prov. 27. 26, he had any reference to those furs that are sometimes taken from lambs in the east, and which are greatly esteemed : *In cold countries,* says that Writer, *furs are greatly made use of, the richest of the country, and the most precious are those of lambs : some of them are small frizzled skins, very rich, of which the most beautiful are valued as high as 15 francs, and are taken from lambs not above two months old at most.*

The account is amusing, but has no relation, I should think, to this passage of Solomon, or any other place of Holy Writ : Lambs were the clothing of Israel as they furnished them with wool, to be manufactured into cloth for their wearing.]

OBSERVATION VIII.

One part of the winter is distinguished from the rest of it by the people of the Levant, on account of the *severity of the cold* then, and which we may call the depth of their winters.

Frosts in Ægypt, according to Egmont and Heyman ¹, are chiefly between the seventh and fourteenth of February, those seven days constituting, they say, the *whole winter* in Ægypt, and it might be imagined the depth of winter *elsewhere* is at the same time ; but this is not the account of Dr. Ruffell, for

¹ V. 2, p. 214, 215.

he tells us that the severity of the cold begins at Aleppo about the 12th of December. It seems to do the same in the Holy-Land, for Albertus Aquensis saith ² that Godfrey of Jerusalem, after having besieged the city of Assur some time, *upon the beginning of the severity of the winter* despaired of taking it, and returned to Jerusalem, in the middle of the month of December. At Aleppo it lasts about 40 days, and is called by the natives *Maarbanie*. I do not know how long it lasts in Judæa. St. Jerome I find ³ speaks of February as part of the sharpest time of winter, but whether with the accuracy of a natural philosopher, may be much questioned, as he is giving a mystical turn to the name of the month in that place, and persons of that complexion are ordinarily more solicitous to complete an Allegory, than to deliver facts with *precision*. However it appears, that at Aleppo, one part of the winter is distinguished from the rest of it by the severity of the cold, and has among the natives a distinct name; the *Gesta Dei per Francos* speaks of the like difference in Judæa; may we not believe it had a distinct name among the Jews too? And I would propose it to the consideration of the *learned*, whether that word

² *Gesta Dei per Fr.* p. 295, Eó quód civitas Assur, hoc tempore *gravissimæ* hyemis incohante, præ frigore et nive insuperabilis haberetur, Jerusalem Decembri mense mediato rediit.

³ In Com. in Zach. Est in *acerrimo* tempore Hyemis.

which is used Cant. 2. 11, and translated there *winter*, may not be understood to mean what the Aleppines express by the term *Maarbanie*? It occurs no where else in the Old Testament, and another word is used for the rainy part of the year in general.

If this thought be admitted, it will greatly illustrate the words of the bridegroom, "Lo, the *winter* is past, the rain is over and gone:" for then the last clause will not be explanatory of the first, and signify that the moist part of the year was entirely past, along with which, Dr. Russell assures us, *all pleasantness* withdraws at Aleppo; but the words will import, the *Maarbanie* is past and over; and the weather become agreeably *warm*, the rain too is just ceased, and consequently hath left us the prospect of several days of serenity, and undisturbed pleasantness, the weather of Judæa in this respect being, I presume, like that at Algiers, where after two or three days of rain there is *usually*, according to Dr. Shaw, a week, a fortnight, or more, of fair and good weather. Of such a sort of cessation of rain alone the bridegroom methinks is here to be understood, not of the absolute termination of the rainy season, and the summer's *drought* being come on: and if so, what can that time that was past mean but the *Maarbanie*?

And indeed Dr. Russell, in giving us an account[†] of the excursions of the English

[†] P. 135.

Merchants at Aleppo, &c, has undesignedly furnished us with a good comment on this, and the two following verses. These Gentlemen, it seems, dine abroad under a tent in *spring* and *autumn* on saturdays, and often on wednesdays. They do the same during the good weather in winter ; but they live at the gardens in April and part of May. In the heat of summer they dine at the gardens instead of under the tent, that is, I suppose, once or twice a week they dine at the gardens, as once or twice a week they dine under a tent in autumn and spring. The cold weather is not supposed by Solomon to have been long over since it is distinctly mentioned, and the Aleppines make their excursions very early. The Narcissus flowers during the whole of the *Maarbanie*, Hyacinths and Violets at latest before it is quite over : ' the appearing of flowers then doth not mean the appearing of the first and earliest flowers, but must rather be understood of the earth's being covered with them, which at Aleppo is not till after the middle of February, a small Crane's-bill appearing on the banks of the river there about the middle of February, *quickly after which* comes a *profusion* of flowers. And in another place ⁶ he tells us that the nightingales, which are there in abundance, not only afford much pleasure by their *songs* in the *gardens*, but are also kept tame in the houses, and let out at a

⁵ P. 13.⁶ P. 71.

small rate to divert such as choose it in the city, so that *no entertainments are made in the spring* without a consort of these birds; no wonder then that Solomon makes the bridegroom speak of the singing of birds, and it teaches us what these birds are, which are expressly distinguished from turtle-doves.

OBSERVATION IX.

[One of the particulars of Jacobus de Vitriaco's description of the weather of the Holy-Land, which appears under the first of these Observations is, *that though the returns of rain in the winter are not extremely frequent, yet that when it does rain, the water is wont to pour down with great violence three or four days and nights together, enough to drown the whole country*¹.

Such violent rains, in an *hilly country* especially, as Judea is known to be, must occasion inundations very dangerous to buildings that happen to be placed within their reach, by washing away the soil from under them, and occasioning their fall: to some such events our Lord must certainly be understood to refer, in Luke 6. 48.

The time that those that have published their travels into this country have stayed in it, has been so short, and their opportunities for observing so limited, that it is no wonder we meet with no accounts of such inundations in

¹ Vide *Gesta Dei*, p. 1098.

their

their writings; but we may easily learn, from what has fallen out in other countries, what *must* have happened in this, especially in those times in which it was *fully* inhabited, when the houses *must* have been frequently built in places not so well chosen, as well as in those that were more commodious.

An account of an inundation from a violent shower of rain in Yorkshire, published in the sixth Vol. of the Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions², may readily be believed to give a very true account of what *must* have happened, from time to time, in Judæa. *A beck, it seems, in that hilly country, was suddenly raised two yards at least, in perpendicular height, above what was usual. Several houses, mills, and bridges, were thrown down, and several people drowned. Seven out of eight in one house were either slain by the fall of it, or drowned. The rapidness of the torrent was so violent, that it took down the side of a chapel, tore up the dead out of their graves, and swept away all the corn-land, as deep as the plough had gone.*

The fall of an house by the beating of the stream against it, mentioned in the 6th of Luke, when the floods were up, occasioned by rain³, is strongly illustrated by what happened in our own country, as related in these Transactions.

To this may be added, that Maundrell actually saw the tracts of several torrents,

² 2d. part p. 58, 59.

³ See Matt. 7. 25. 27.

down the side of the hills of the Holy-Land⁴. He also describes that country as extremely rocky; but covered frequently with a thin coat of earth⁵: circumstances which complete the illustration of this allusion of our Lord, and teach us how to understand building on the sand, or loose soil; and the wise man's digging down to the rock, before he laid the foundation of his building.

Other writers⁶ have taken notice of the *rockiness* of this country, and its being frequently covered with a *shallow coat of earth*.

It is more than possible our Lord might have some village in view, when he spoke these words, which was known to have suffered a calamity of this kind; but if not, such events were too frequent among them, we may believe, not to make them feel great energy in his words.

The account Sir John Chardin gives of these countries, in a note in one of his manuscripts on Luke vii. 48, confirms what has been said above with great energy: there he tells us, *that floods are common in the East, there being few rivers, but great inundations here and there, for want of rivers to receive the water.*]

OBSERVATION X.

IX.

Where the rain falls indiscriminately through the whole year, as it doth with us,

⁴ P. 57. ⁵ P. 65. ⁶ Egmont and Heyman, v. 1. p. 388, &c.

there is no notion of *former and latter rains*; but nothing is more natural than this distinction in such a country as Palæstine.

The summer's drought at Aleppo usually terminates, according to Dr. Ruffell, in September, by some *heavy showers*, which continue sometimes, (as appears by his more particular description of the weather,) some days; after which, there is an interval of fine weather of between twenty and thirty days, when showers again fall, which he calls the *second rains*. It is natural to suppose those first showers should be called the *former rain*, and accordingly all sorts of Authors concur in this, the Targumists anciently, the later Talmudical Doctors, and Christian writers. Lightfoot however, it seems, ¹ has found out one Rabbi, who supposes the rain of the spring is the *former rain*, and the autumnal the *latter rain*, and he himself expresses great uncertainty about it in that passage; and in another tract ² he directly affirms that the *feast of Tabernacles* was about the time of the *latter rains*. Lightfoot cites Joel 2. 23, in support of this opinion, than which nothing could be more inconclusive, as it is well known that the month next after the vernal Equinox is as often, at least, called in the Scriptures the first month, as that next after the autumnal. I shall have occasion to show, in a few lines, that this same passage of Joel is very unhappily cited by an author ³,

¹ V. 2. p. 409.

² V. 1. p. 978.

³ Dr. Shaw.

much more accurate in these matters than Lightfoot. It is however less to be wondered at that Lightfoot should look upon the rains of autumn as the latter rain, since he supposed, as I have elsewhere remarked, that it rained in Judea only at the Equinoxes: and consequently about as many months of drought preceded the spring rains, according to him, as those of autumn. He wanted therefore an important *Datum* to determine this point. But as this is certainly a mistake, and all the *Winter* is more or less *wet*, the rains of autumn must be those that are called the *former rain*, being the *first* that come after a *long suspension* of showers.

The *time* when these first rains fall in Judæa is the next thing to be considered. At Aleppo it is usually between the 15th and 25th of September O. S. It is later in Judæa according to Dr. Shaw, who must have ascertained this point by enquiring of the inhabitants of that country about it, since there is no scripture from whence he attempts to deduce it, as he doth the time of the latter rain, though very untowardly: the beginning of November, according to him⁴, is the time of the first descent of rain in the Holy-Land.

The seasons are exceeding regular in the East, as Dr. Russell observes, but it is not to be imagined that the rains of autumn come to a day: he tell us, on the contrary,

⁴ P. 335.

that sometimes all September, (in which month the first rains usually fall at Aleppo,) is dry and fultry. Dr. Shaw in like manner informs us, that the first rains of Barbary fall in some years in September, in others a month later. The accounts of these Gentlemen are much more credible than those of the Jewish doctors cited by Lightfoot⁵, who represent the first rains as falling on the *17th day of the month Marbeshvan*, the second rains on the 23d, and the third in the beginning of the month Chisleu; and of those Rabbies mentioned by him elsewhere⁶, of whom one affirmed the first rain *began on the 3d of Marbeshvan*, the middle rain *on the 7th*, the last *on the 17th*; and the other that they fell out on *the 7th, the 17th*, and the 21st, of that month. No wonder they differ in their accounts, since this precision must be imaginary.

These Rabbies are the only writers, I ever observed, who speak of the third rains; but Dr. Russell mentions the first and the second so currently, that one would imagine it an ancient distinction, and it is natural to pause, and consider, whether *these* are the former and latter rains so often mentioned in the scriptures.

It is certain the former and latter rains have not commonly been so understood; nor were they so by St. Jerome, who lived long in that country. On the other hand, they that have

⁵ V. 2. p. 185.

⁶ P. 391.

wrote concerning the natural history of these countries, make no particular distinction betwixt any rains but these, the rest falling undistinguished in the winter-months, without any thing of order, or remarkableness, so far as I have been able to make out.

In order to settle this point it may be proper to observe, that rain in the spring is represented as of great advantage, "The more wet the spring," says Ruffell, "the later the harvest, and the more plentiful the crop;" and in Barbary it may be even necessary. The words of Dr. Shaw seem to me to imply this, "If the latter rains fall as usual in the middle of April—the crop is reckoned secure:" for is not this in other terms saying, they think it in danger, if they have not these late rains? the *late rains* then are of great consequence as well as the autumnal, and consequently might be represented (Prov. xvi. 15,) as extremely precious. To this it is to be added, that the words translated the *former and the latter* rains are not words expressive of first and second, or such words as are used Dan. xi. 29, to express the former and the latter coming of the king of Syria against the king of Ægypt: they do not then appear to be equivalent to first and second rains, but to mark out two important sorts of rain, and as the spring-rains are undoubtedly of great consequence to make a plentiful harvest, and the latter rains have been almost universally understood to

mean them, it seems requisite to acquiesce in that interpretation.

An argument, however, that is commonly made use of in proof that the latter rain means that of the spring, and which may appear to many to be decisive, is of no validity at all: I mean the words of the prophet Joel, "He will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain, and the latter rain in the first month," Ch. ii, 23, for this passage is no ways to the purpose, if the translation of the Seventy be admitted, who instead of rendering the words, *the former rain and the latter rain in the first month*, suppose the words signify, he will rain upon you the former and the latter rain *as afore-time*—as *at first*. St. Jerome understands the passage in the same sense, though he believed the latter rains were those of the spring. Nor is the word *month* in the original.

Nevertheless our version has had that effect upon the very ingenious Dr. Shaw, that having spoken ⁷ of the falling of the latter rains in Barbary in the middle of April, he says, "In the Holy-Land we find they were a month sooner," and immediately cites Joel ii. 23. in confirmation of it. This is a strange slip in the Doctor. In the first place, there is no dependence on this text at all, the Septuagint and St. Jerome understand it otherwise, and he himself elsewhere ⁸ affirms they fall sometimes in the middle, sometimes

⁷ P. 137.

⁸ P. 335.

toward the latter end of April. And secondly, admitting our translation, it doth not follow that the rains of Barbary hold longer than those of the Holy-Land, since the middle of April falls almost perpetually within the Jewish month Abib or Nisan, even without those extraordinary intercalations the Doctor speaks of ⁹, and with them must do it always. That the rains there do hold till after the middle of April at least, appears from Thevenot, who speaks of rain on the 16th of April, and says the morning of the 17th was very wet, as he journeyed from Jordan to Jerufalem.

Scriptures of this sort then are to be explained by facts; and it is very wrong when, on the contrary, we pretend to determine facts by our conjectural interpretations of scripture. Mr. Lowth agrees with the *substance* of this observation, but when he supposes ¹⁰ the former rain came just *after* the sowing time, to make the seed take root, as the latter rain did just before harvest, to plump and fill the ears, he is not *perfectly* accurate, we have reason to think: the Arabs of Barbary *breaking up* their grounds *after* ¹¹ the first rains in order to sow wheat, and the sowing barley and planting lentils, is a fortnight, three weeks, and sometimes more than a month later; and the first rains falling at Aleppo in the middle of September,

⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ In his Com. on Jer. 6. 24. ¹¹ Shaw, p. 137.

whereas their ploughing doth not begin until the latter end of that month.

X. OBSERVATION XI.

St. Jerome's explanation of Amos iv. 7, 8, is to be added, I am afraid, to the foregoing instances of mistake which I have mentioned. "Also I have with-holden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest, and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not withered. So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water, but they were not satisfied, &c." That is, according to Jerome, *God with-held the rain commonly called the latter rain, which is extremely necessary to the thirsty fields of Palæstine, for the corn when it begins to be ready to disclose the ear, lest it should wither; he with-held the rain of the latter end of April, from which to wheat-harvest there are three months, May, June, and July.*

I allow the rains of April were of consequence to the corn, "If the latter rains fall in the middle of April, the crop is reckoned secure," says Shaw; but the prophet has before, (in the 6th v,) taken notice of the *failing of corn*, these verses then apparently refer to the with-holding those rains that filled their *reservoirs of water for drinking*, and our translators should have used the term

term dried up ¹, I presume, or something of that sort, instead of withered. Jerome mistook the case then in this explanation. Nor can I easily believe their wheat-harvest was delayed to the close of July: at present, at Aleppo, barley-harvest commences about the beginning of May, and the wheat as well as that is generally over by the 20th ². In Barbary it comes at the latter end of May or the beginning of June, according to the quality of the preceding seasons ³. Agreeably to this Raimond de Agiles ⁴ giveth us to understand, that a great part of their harvest at Ramula was gathered in before the 6th of June in the year 1099, for on that day, he and the Christian army arrived before Jerusalem, having passed through Ramula in their way, where they found most of the harvest over. This Father talks of a quite different case then from what the Prophet refers to; and contradicts facts besides, I am afraid, in his explanation.

It is somewhat hard, I acknowledge, not to admit the *authority* of St. Jerome who lived so long in those countries, as to the *time of harvest*; but he himself, in this very passage, gives us the liberty of supposing *great men* may be guilty of oscitancy in matters of this sort, for he tells us the translators of the Septuagint, (who were as well acquainted

¹ As they did in translating the same word Job 14. 11.

² 1 Kings 17. 7, &c. ³ Russell p. 18, 19. ⁴ Shaw 137.

⁴ *Gesta Dei per Francos* p. 173.

with

with these countries, we may believe, as he, put the *Vintage* here in their version, instead of *harvest*, which, he says, if admitted, would suppose such a state of things as is unwonted, is impossible, in the countries of the east: for never have we seen rain in *these Provinces*, continues he, and especially in *Judæa*, in the *end of June*, or in the month of *July*, and to no purpose would God threaten drought in a season in which he had never given rain.

He goes on, and says that God suspended the rain, not only to punish them with want of bread, but with thirst, for that in those countries, in which he then resided, excepting a few fountains, they had only *cistern-water*, so that if the divine anger suspended the rains, there was more danger of perishing by thirst than by famine⁵. This is coming to the point, and is the thing to which alone

⁵ Prohibui a vobis imbrem, cum adhuc superessent tres menses usque ad messëm, quæ appellatur pluvia ferotina: & agris Palæstinæ arvisque sitientibus vel maxime necessaria est: ut quando herba turgeret in messëm, & triticum parturiret, nimia siccitate arefceret. Significat autem vernum tempus extremi mensis Aprilis, a quo usque ad messëm frumenti tres menses supersunt: Maius, Junius, Julius. Pro קציר, id est, messe, Septuaginta suo more ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἕστε, id est, vindemiam transfulerunt: quod si recipimus, omnino juxta orientis regiones & insolitum & impossibile est. Nunquam enim in fine mensis Junii, sive in mense Julio, in his provinciis, maximeque in Judæa, pluvias vidimus—Et superfluum erat nunc comminari mensis Julii siccitatem, in quo nunquam pluvias dederat. Prohibuit autem imbrem ut non solum indigentiam panum, sed et fitis ardorem & bibendi

alone the Prophet refers in *these two verses*, and might have cleared the whole. The Prophet, it is allowed by St. Jerome himself, doth speak of the filling the cisterns of that country with water, and when is that usually done? If the authority of Dr. Shaw may be admitted, it is in the month of February. “It is an observation,” says the Doctor, “at or near *Jerusalem*, that provided a moderate quantity of snow falls in the beginning of *February*, (whereby the fountains are made to overflow a little afterwards,) there is the prospect of a fruitful and plentiful year: the inhabitants making, upon these occasions, the like rejoicings with the *Egyptians upon the cutting of the Nile*,” p. 335. They are the snow and the rains then of the beginning of February that fill their reservoirs of water, and make them overflow; these are particularly remarked, and their descent occasions great rejoicings; and February is just three months before the harvest begins at Aleppo. I must think therefore that the exhortation of God, by Amos, must refer to his withholding the rains of February, not of the latter end of April; and as St. Jerome has corrected the Septuagint, we may venture to correct St. Jerome. The interpretation of the Septuagint

bendi penuriam sustinerent. In his enim locis, in quibus nunc degimus, præter parvos fontes, omnes cisternarum aquæ sunt; & si imbres divina ira suspenderit, majus sitis quam famis periculum est.

implies

implies the frequency of rain in June or July, contrary to fact; St. Jerome's that harvest did not come on till the end of July, which equally contradicts experience and scripture: and what adds to the strangeness of the mistake is, that Jerome applies *chiefly* to the harvest, what apparently refers *solely* to the filling their reservoirs of water, and understands the rains of the Prophet of those that have nothing to do with filling their cisterns, though those rains of the Prophet must have been as celebrated as those of April, and probably more so, for however useful the rains of April may be, from those of February they derive their hopes of a fruitful year.

No one ought, I apprehend, to make any difficulty of Dr. Shaw's describing *snow* as the cause of the overflowing of their fountains, whereas the Prophet speaks of filling their cisterns with *rain*, since the temperature of the air is so very different in different places of this country; that will be snow in a cold place which would be rain in a warmer—snow at *Jerusalem* which is very cold, while it was rain that filled their cisterns elsewhere. So Josephus speaks⁶ of *rain* as filling their reservoirs.

Egmont and Heyman mention⁷ those rejoicings that Dr. Shaw speaks of, but they do not take notice of the time of them.

⁶ Vide Antiq. Jud. L. 14. cap. 14. De Bell. Jud. L. 1. cap. 7. ⁷ V. 1. p. 378.

“ When we were there,” (at Nehemiah’s pit, or well,) “ the water in it was very low ; “ though sometimes it overflows in such a “ manner as to lay the vale under water, “ which occasions great rejoicings among the “ Turks and Arabians, as being a certain “ prognostic of a very plentiful year.”

OBSERVATION XII.

XI.

By a passage of la Roque ¹ it appears, that if the *usual rains* have failed in the spring, it is of great benefit to have a copious shower *though very late*: for he tells us that when he arrived at Sidon, in the *end of June*, it had not rained there of *many months*, and that the earth was so extremely dry that the cotton-plants, and the mulberry-trees, which make the principal riches of that country, were in a sad condition, and all other things suffered in proportion, so that a famine was feared, which is generally followed with a pestilence. He then tells us that all the sects of religion which lived there had, in their various ways, put up public prayers for rain, and that at length on the very day that the Mohammedans made a solemn procession out of the city, in the way of supplicating for mercy, all on a sudden the air thickened, and all the marks of an approaching storm appeared, and the rain descended *in such abundance*, that all those that attended the procession got back to the city with considerable difficulty, and in

¹ Voy. de Syrie, &c. Tome I. p. 8, &c.

disorder.

disorder. He adds that the rain continued *all that day, and part of the night*, which perfected the revival of the plants, and the saving of the productions of the earth.

La Roque is evidently embarrassed with this fall of the rain *just at the time* the Mohammedans were presenting their supplications, when neither the solemn prayers of the Greek Bishop, nor those of the Latin Monks, nor even the exposing of the Host for many days, had been thus honoured: “At last,” said he, “Heaven which bestoweth it’s favours when and how it pleases, and who causeth it to rain on the unjust and the infidel, permitted so great an abundance of rain to fall, &c.” But there certainly was no occasion for any such disquietude, there was no dispute *which religion was most excellent* involved in this transaction, nor doth any thing more appear in it than this, that God, the *universal parent*, having at length been sought to by *all*, showered down his mercies upon *all*.—But the intention of these papers leads me to remarks of a different kind.

This author doth not tell us when this rain fell, which is to be regretted, and the more as he is often exact in less concerning matters. However it could not be before the end of June, N. S, for he did not arrive at Sidon till then²; and it could not be so late as the usual time of the descent of the au-

² P. 5.

tumnal rains, for the cotton is ripe in September³, 'till the middle of which month those rains seldom fall, often later, and this rain is supposed to have been of great service to the *growing cotton*; consequently these general prayers for rain could not refer to autumnal showers, but a late spring-rain, which probably happened soon after his arrival, or about the time that Dr. Russell tells us those severe thunder-showers fell at Aleppo, which I have before taken notice of, that is, about the beginning of July O. S. And though the harvest must have been over at Sidon by the time this gentleman arrived there, and they had therefore nothing *then* to hope or to fear for as to that, yet as the people of those countries depend so much on garden-stuff, the inspissated juice of grapes, figs, olives, &c, they might be apprehensive of a scarcity as to these too, which they might hope to prevent by this late rain.

For the like reasons such a rain must have been extremely acceptable in the days of David. ⁴ And it must have been more so, if it came a good deal earlier, though we must believe it to have been after all expectations of it in the common way were over: and such an one, I suppose, was granted. Dr. Delany indeed, in his *Life of David*, tells us, that the Rabbins suppose the descendents of Saul hanged from March, (from the very

³ See Pococke's *Def. of the East*, V. 2. p. 61. ⁴ 2 Sam. 21. 10.

first days of barley-harvest,) to the following October, and he seems to approve their sentiments. Dr. Shaw mentions⁵ this affair only cursorily, however, he appears to have imagined that they hanged 'till the rainy season came in course. But surely we may much better suppose it was such a rain as la Roque speaks of, or one rather earlier. The ground Delany goes upon is a supposition, that the bodies that were hanged up before the Lord hung 'till the flesh was wasted from the bones, which he thinks is affirmed in the 13th v. of that chapter, but, I must confess, no such thing appears to me to be affirmed there: the bodies of Saul and his sons, it is certain, hanged but a very little while on the wall of Bethshan, before the men of Jabesh-Gilead removed them, which yet are called *bones*, "They took their bones, and buried " them," 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; the seven sons of Saul then might hang a very little time in the days of king David. And if it should be imagined that the flesh of Saul was consumed by fire, (v. 12,) and so the word *bones* came to be used in the account of their interment, can any reason be assigned why we should not suppose these bodies were treated after the same manner? But it appears that the word *bones* frequently means the same thing with *corpse*, which circumstance also totally invalidates this way of reasoning: so the *embalmed body* of Joseph is called his bones, Gen. 1.

⁵ P. 136.

25, 26, and Exod. xiii. 19 ; so the lying Prophet terms his *body just become breathless* his bones, “ When I am dead, then bury me in “ the sepulchre wherein the man of God is “ buried, lay my *bones* beside his bones,” 1 Kings xiii. 31. So Josephus⁶ tells us that Simon removed the *bones* of his brother Jonathan the high-priest, who was slain by Tryphon *when he was departing* out of that country, though Simon seems to have removed the body as soon as might be after Tryphon’s retirement.

Such a late spring-rain would have been attended, as the rain at Sidon was, with many advantages ; and coming *after all hope* of common rain was over, and *presently* following the death of these persons on the other hand ; would be a much more merciful management of Providence, and a much nobler proof that the execution was the appointment of God, and not a political stratagem of David, than the passing of six months over without any rain at all, and then its falling only in the common track of things.

This explanation also throws light on the closing clause of this story, “ And after that “ God was intreated for the land.” Dr. Delany seems to suppose that the performing these funeral rites was requisite to the appeasing God : but could that be the meaning of the clause ? Were the *ignominy* of a death the

⁶ Antiq. 13. 6.

law of Moses pronounced *accursed*, and the *honour* of a *royal* funeral, *both* necessary mediums of appeasing the Almighty? Is it not a much easier interpretation of this clause—The rain that dropped on these bodies was a great mercy to the country, and the return of the rains *in due quantities* afterwards, in their season, proved that God had been intreated for the land?

XII.

OBSERVATION XIII.

The famine in the time of Ahab might, it is possible, be more severe than this in the days of David; nevertheless I do not apprehend the threatening, that there should be *no* dew nor rain, meant that there should not be a *single drop* of rain for three years.

William, Archbishop of Tyre in the 12th Century, speaks ¹ of a drought in the country about Damascus in his time, which continued for five years, but the Archbishop doth not suppose there had been no rain at all about Damascus for five years, but only not the usual, not the necessary quantities of it, *Ariditas Nimia* and *Pluviarum Inopia* being the terms he makes use of: and this, I apprehend, is all that is necessary for us to suppose is meant, when we read *there was no rain nor dew for three years*.

Philo tells us, there is *no winter in Egypt* ². His following words show that he meant no rains, no hail, no thunder, no violent storms

¹ *Gesta Dei per Fr.* p. 1017. ² *De Vita Moiss.*

of wind, which constitute an eastern winter. In like manner Maillet ³ quotes Pliny as affirming, there were no rains, no thunder, no earthquakes in that country; Maillet however affirms that he had seen it rain there *several times*, and that there were *two* earthquakes in Ægypt during his residence in it: he supposes therefore that the *non tremat* of Pliny signifies, it *seldom* feels earthquakes, and when it does, is not damaged by them; the *non pluit, non tonat*, that it *seldom* rains, *seldom* thunders there, though as to the sea-coast the rains and thunderings are *often* very violent, but it doth not rain there as in other countries. Pitts ⁴, an eye-witness, confirms Maillet's account of the rain of Ægypt, assuring us that when he was at Cairo, which is at a considerable distance from the sea-coast, it rained to that degree, that having no kennels in the streets to carry off the water, it was ankle-deep, and in some places half way up the leg. And Bishop Pococke assures us, that even in the *upper Ægypt* itself, it *hailed and rained* almost all one morning, when he was there in the month of February, and that it *rained very hard* the night following; and that on the 18th of that month it rained at Gava Kieber in the night, and again after it was day, and again in the evening.

We may understand by these accounts what the sacred writer means when he says, Ægypt

³ Let. 1. p. 19.

⁴ P. 95.

has *no rain* (Zech. xiv. 18). He must be understood in the same mollified sense that Maillet, or rather the Abbot Mascrier, puts upon Pliny; in the same qualified sense we must understand Philo: and consequently all that is necessary to understand by the expressions, “There shall be no dew, nor rain,” is, that they should not be in the usual, in the necessary quantities. Such a suspension of rain and dew was sufficient to answer the *chastising purposes* of God; and an *absolute* drought of three years continuance must *surely* have destroyed all the trees of the country, as well as occasioned a *temporary* famine; but no such destruction is intimated in the Scriptures.

Those prodigious long droughts that have happened in Cyprus, one of seventeen years, and another of thirty-six, must have been, one would think, of the same kind, not such favourable seasons of rain as they often enjoy, when they have a prodigious plenty of corn, but however not a total suspension. Yet a late Traveller speaking of these celebrated droughts says, *no rain* fell in the space of seventeen years³; had this been, *strictly speaking*, the fact, one would imagine that not only the inhabitants must have quitted the island, which he tells us they did, but almost every vegetable must have perished.

[This suspension of rain, in the time of Elijah, was for three years and six months,

³ Egmont or Heyman v. 1. p. 287.

according to the Apostle James, ch. v. 17. If the rain was only withheld three winters, it would, in the common course of things, have been a withholding rain for about six months more than the three years strictly speaking, because the summers of the East are dry, it would however have been more natural to have expressed it by a drought of three years; but if the usual rains were withheld four winters, and first appeared late in the spring after their suspension, there would be a great energy in this form of speech—three years and six months.

Sir J. Chardin seems to have supposed the rain first returned in the spring. For proposing this as a difficulty, in one of his M S. notes, the Prophet said, "*The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruse of oil fail, until the day that the Lord sendeth rain upon the earth;*" but from the day of the coming of the rain unto that of having corn must there not be a considerable time? He answers, *No, not in the East, as soon as there is rain there are herbs, and other things for food.* This, though not clearly expressed, supposes the first rain was a late spring one, like that at Sidon, which came time enough to produce many kind of fruits and esculent herbs, and to deliver from the severity of famine. Farther, I confess, I do not see any necessity of supposing the miracle ceased the moment the rain descended—the words might mean no more, than that the miraculous in-

crease of the meal and oil should be continued 'till the wants of this widow of Sarepta should be otherwise supplied, of which the fall of rains was *the beginning*.

The solicitude of Ahab to find grafs for his horses and mules, seems to be a stronger proof that the first rain was in spring, because that is the time of year in which they are wont to put their horses to grafs; though this is not a proof that is absolutely conclusive, since, in such a time of scarcity, the want of barley and straw might oblige them to look for moist food at an unusual time.

Before I quit this subject, it may not be improper farther to observe, that Ahab's directing Obadiah to search for grafs *by the brooks and fountains* of water, agrees with Dr. Russell's account of a common Syrian summer, at which time the country is all quite parched up, excepting in those places where there is water⁶.

Sir J. Chardin's is perfectly similar, for his remark on 1 Kings xviii. 5. is, *in every place where there is water there is always grafs and verdure, for water makes every thing grow in the East.*]

XIII.

OBSERVATION XIV.

When rain doth fall in these countries it is often preceded by a *squall of wind*. So the ingenious Editor of the account of the

⁶ P. 10.

Ruins of Palmyra, which city is situated in a *vast desert*, and from thence called Tadmor in the Desert ¹, tells us they seldom have rain there except at the Equinoxes, that nothing could be more serene than the sky all the time that they were there, (which was about a fortnight in *March*;) except one afternoon that there was a small shower, preceded by a *whirkeind*, which took up such quantities of sand from the desert as quite darkened the sky ².

Agreeably to this the Prophet Elisha *when in the Deserts* with the king of Israel, who was marching with his army against Moab, and which was ready to perish for want of water, told him, “ Thus saith the Lord, “ make this valley full of ditches. For thus “ saith the Lord, ye shall not see *wind*, nei- “ ther shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall “ be filled with water, that ye may drink, “ both ye, and your cattle, and your beasts,” 2 Kings iii. 16, 17. It was natural for a squall to precede this rain, therefore he said, ye shall not see wind.

The circumstance of the winds taking up such quantities of sand as to darken the sky, may serve to explain that passage of the sacred historian, which describes the heaven as *black* with *wind* as well as *clouds*, 1 Kings xviii. 45, for neither of these circumstances, a squall preceding the rain, or its raising great quantities of dust, is peculiar to deserts. Dr. Ruf-

¹ Tadmor in the Wilderness, in 2 Chron. 8. 4. ² P. 27.

fel speaks of both as common at Aleppo³, which is at a considerable distance from a desert properly speaking, though the country to the eastward wears that name⁴. The wind's prognosticating rain is also referred to Prov. xxv, 14, "Whofo boasteth himself of " a false gift," or pretends he will give a valuable gift, and disappoints the expectation, " is like *clouds and wind* without " rain."

OBSERVATION XV.

[That little cloud, like a *man's hand*, mentioned in the history of the transactions of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 44, is said to be a *common phænomenon*, prognosticating rain.

So Sir J. Chardin in his M S. tells us, great storms are wont to begin with such a sort of cloud, and that it is the sign of them at sea; and he proposed to illustrate this passage by what he had observed in going from *Ormus to Basra*, with Captain Nicholas Vidal.

I am sorry we have only this memorandum, and that I cannot find a complete account of the observations he made on this point, in these papers.

OBSERVATION XVI.

The South seems to be the quarter from whence the scriptures suppose *whirlwinds* usually arose, but we are not to imagine they

³ P. 154. 163. ⁴ P. 8.

invariably came from that point of the compass.

As Palmyra was seated in a vast desert, it is not certain whence the whirlwind came mentioned under the last Observation but one, since it only speaks of its taking up vast quantities of sand *from the Desert*. It might do that from whatever quarter it came, since a desert surrounds Palmyra. One would however be inclined to suppose the East is meant, since that is the side which is described as a vast waste¹.

Ezekiel speaks of a whirlwind that came from the *North*, ch. i. 4, but this was what appeared to him in *vision*, and therefore might not be according to the course of nature; however historians inform us they sometimes really arise from thence. So the Archbishop of Tyre, speaking of a battle between the Prince of Antioch, and Doldequin King of Damascus attended by some powerful Turcoman and Arab warriors, tells us, *that in the heat of the fight, a most terrible whirlwind, arising from the North, appeared in the field of battle², exerting its violence on the ground in the sight of all, and in passing farther on brought with it such a quantity of dust, which it had taken up, that it so filled the eyes of the troops on both sides as to incapacitate them from fighting; and at length raising itself up, with a circular motion, mounted high up into the air³.*

¹ P. 33. ² Somewhere not far from Aleppo. ³ *Gesta Dei*, p. 821.

This

This however is mentioned as a memorable, and it should seem *extraordinary* thing, the more southern countries being, I apprehend, much more liable to them, where according to Maillet they are wont to come *from the South*. For giving an account of the dangers attending the Caravans that pass *between Ægypt and Nubia*, he mentions the risque they run of losing their way in those thirsty deserts; and then adds, “ The danger is infinitely greater, when the *South* “ wind happens to blow in these deserts. The “ least mischief that it produces is the making “ dry their leather bottles, or goat-skins “ filled with water, which they are obliged “ to carry with them in these journies, “ and by this means depriving both man “ and beast of the only relief they have against its violent heats. This wind, which “ the Arabs call poisonous, stifles on the “ spot those that are unfortunate enough to “ breathe in it; so that to guard against its “ pernicious effects, they are obliged to throw “ themselves speedily on the ground, with “ their face close to these burning sands, “ with which they are surrounded, and to “ cover their head with some cloth or carpet, “ lest in respiration they should suck in that “ deadly quality which every where attends it. “ People ought even to think themselves very “ happy when this wind, which is always “ besides very violent, doth not raise up “ large quantities of sand with a whirling “ motion,

“ motion, which darkening the air, render
 “ the guides incapable of discerning their
 “ way. Sometimes whole Caravans have
 “ been buried by this means under the sand,
 “ with which this wind is frequently charg-
 “ ed⁴.”

This passage shows with how much propriety *whirlwinds of the South* are mentioned: they are chiefly felt *in the countries of the South*; and they commonly arise *from that quarter*, but not always; being sometimes found in countries more to the North than Judæa, and not rising from the South. They shew also what is meant by destruction coming as a whirlwind, Prov. i. 27.]

OBSERVATION XVII.

XIV.

Dr. Ruffell informs us that the rains of Aleppo *generally* fall in the *night*, and in very *heavy* showers¹. Probably the same observation might be made in Judæa, and that the Prophet refers to it, when he speaks of a “ Tabernacle for a shadow *in the day-time* “ from the heat; and for a place of refuge, “ and for a covert from storm and from rain,” [for a refuge and a covert from storm and from rain *in the night*, I suppose, if we express the thought at large,] Isa. iv. 6.

But it is only generally, not universally so, and therefore Josephus might justly mention² it as a *strange*, though not an incredible

⁴ Let. dern. p. 218. ¹ P. 148. ² Antiq. l. 15. cap. 11.
 cir-

circumstance, which tradition affirmed to be true, that no rain fell *in the day-time*, to beat off the workmen, while the temple was repairing in the time of Herod, but *all in the night*, though the doing it took up a year and a half.

Some effects that frequently follow the violence of their rains ³, and are explanatory of some passages of Scripture, Dr. Shaw has given an account of ⁴. I therefore shall say nothing about them here.

XV. OBSERVATION XVIII.

Our translators were at a loss how to render Prov. xxv. 23: they could not tell whether Solomon spoke of the north wind as *driving away* rain, or *bringing it forth*, and therefore put one sense in the text, and the other in the margin. I have observed nothing decisive as to this point in the books of travels which I have perused, and indeed very little more relating to the winds, excepting the violent heat they sometimes bring with them in these countries.

At Aleppo “ the coldest winds in the
 “ winter are those that blow from between
 “ the north-west and the east, and the
 “ nearer they approach to the last-mention-
 “ ed point, the colder they are during the
 “ winter, and part of the spring. But from
 “ the beginning of May to the end of Sep-

³ The washing down their buildings.

⁴ P. 136.

“ tember,

“ tember, the winds blowing from the very
“ same points, bring with them a degree and
“ kind of heat which one would imagine
“ came out of an oven, and which, when it
“ blows hard, will affect metals within the
“ houses, such as locks of room-doors, nearly
“ as much as if they had been exposed to
“ the rays of the sun; yet it is remarkable
“ that water kept in jars is much cooler at
“ this time than when a cool westerly wind
“ blows. In these seasons the only remedy
“ is to shut all the doors and windows, for
“ though these winds do not kill as the *Summyel*
“ (which are much of the same nature) do in
“ the desert, yet are extremely troublesome,
“ causing a languor and difficulty of respira-
“ tion to most people, &c¹.”

There is a visible opposition between this account of the *hot winds*, as to their *direction*, and those words of our Lord², “ When ye see the south wind blow, ye say there will be heat, and it cometh to pass,” they are both however just: for Cornelius le Bruyn³ tells us that when he was at Rama, there was, on the 9th of October, a south-east wind, which, coming from the desert beyond Jordan, caused a *great heat*, and that this continued some days. The niceness of Ruffell’s observations will not allow us to doubt the truth of what he says of the direction of the hot winds at Aleppo; nor can we doubt

¹ Ruffell p. 14, 15.
p. 152.

² Luke 12. 55.

³ Tome 2.

of their direction being from the south in Judæa; this is owing, without doubt, to the different situations of these places. In *common* the direction of the wind which brings these great heats is the same as le Bruyn observed it in Judæa. They are southerly winds in Barbary⁴, and Ægypt⁵, that bring heat.

This observation of Ruffell, (to indulge myself in something of a digression from the great design of these papers, which is to illustrate the Scriptures,) concerning this greater coolness of water kept in jars when these hot winds blow, than in the time of a cool westerly wind, very much takes off from the seeming incredibility of the account Josephus gives us of the water of Jericho⁶, which drawn, he says, before sun-rise grows *colder* upon being exposed to the sun, and assumes the contrary quality to that of the circumambient air; and on the other hand is comfortably *warm* in winter. The editors of Josephus have mentioned nothing of this kind in their notes on that noble author. Dr. Ruffell's account possibly may be of use to his future publishers.

I cannot help adding, though it is a still greater digression, that surely this Phænomenon at Aleppo deserves a very nice enquiry. A temporary Thermometer may be made with water, as well as spirit of wine or quicksilver; and metalline instruments

⁴ Dr. Shaw, p. 134.

⁵ Maillet Let. 11. p. 110.

⁶ De Bello Jud. L. 4. c. 8.

have been made to measure the degrees of heat and cold: if then water is *colder* at the time these *hot* winds blow than when there is a *cool* westerly wind, and consequently is lessened in its bulk; and metal is more heated, and consequently more expanded; a very great difference must appear between a water and a metalline measurer of the degrees of heat and cold: and the ascertaining these differences, and the drawing proper consequences from these observations, may *agreeably* employ a Virtuoso, and lead to *valuable* discoveries.

OBSERVATION XIX.

XVI.

These *hot winds* are not *deadly* at Aleppo, as they are in the desert, but Russell gives us to understand they are troublesome enough, and *oblige people to shut themselves up*. They are very incommoding and suffocating in Barbary and Ægypt too. 'Le Bruyn is as unhappily reserved as to his observations on the weather of Judæa, as he is tediously exact in things of that kind elsewhere, which is more to be regretted, as he spent a much longer time there than most travellers do, and that *experience* must settle the sense of many passages of Scripture of this sort, criticising being very unequal to the task: however he sufficiently gives us to understand that the heat was violent, and consequently disagreeable.

¹ See Shaw and Maillet in the pages referred to under the last Observations, and Egmont and Heyman, v. 2. p. 62.

What

What a different interpretation from that of many critics will this oblige us to put upon Cant. iv. 16? Many of them, among whom is the very learned Bochart, suppose the meaning of the first part of the verse to be, *Depart, O north wind, and come thou south!* St. Jerome² was anciently of the same opinion, and calls the north wind, *Ventus durissimus*, the most nipping, pinching, unpleasant wind. Some modern critics say this, and much more, to support their interpretation. Sanctius³, in particular, affirms that the south wind is warm and humid, which by its *gentle heat* clothes the trees with leaves; and supposing that it might be objected to him, that Virgil speaks of the south wind as destructive to flowers, he gravely answers, that the south wind may be destructive in Italy and Spain, and stormy in Africa, yet placid and healthful in Palæstine, *because it blows from the sea*, from whence it acquires an humid warmth and softness. Winds of the same direction, in different countries, may undoubtedly produce different, may produce contrary effects, but there is not the least ground for the notion of Sanctius. The south wind in Judæa can hardly be said to blow *from the sea*; in Italy it certainly doth, yet is destructive. Le Bruyn describes it from experience as producing *great heat*, not the *gentle warmth* of Sanctius. If then the south winds of that country were as trou-

² In Com. in Ezech. c. 40. ³ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

blesome as they are in Barbary and Ægypt, and as the winds from the desert are at Aleppo, which are of the same nature as the south winds of Judæa it seems; or if they were only very hot, as le Bruyn certainly found them to be in October, would the Spouse have desired the north wind to depart, and the south wind to blow, in the time of fruit, in the heat of summer that is, as these authors imagine? It cannot be. The contrary, I make no doubt, is the true meaning of her words, though I do not know that any critic hath understood them so, all acquiescing in the preceding interpretation; or the notion that *both* are desired, which is, in one view, still more insupportable—desiring a sultry, suffocating wind to blow, and this after having, with the same breath, wished for a wind from the *opposite quarter*.

None, I presume, will deny the first word may signify awake, or *arise*, O north-wind! all the hesitation must be about the second, and *come*, thou south! which, I suppose, really signifies, *enter into thy repositories*. That Jatza and Bo, with their derivatives, are directly opposed to each other, we may learn from 2 Sam. iii. 25: Jatza is frequently applied to the causing the wind to blow, Ps. cxxxv. 7, Jer. x. 13, ch. li. 16, consequently the verb Bo should signify the direct contrary, that is, its ceasing to blow, or its entering into its repository; just as Jatza is used to express the rising of the sun, its coming out

of its chamber, Pf. xix, and Bo its setting or entering into it, Deut. xi. 30, Josh. i. 4. And so the true explanation of these words will be, *Arise, O north wind! (and retire, thou south!) blow upon my garden, let the spices thereof flow forth, that my beloved may come into his garden, invited by the coolness and fragrancy of the air, and may eat his pleasant fruits; for if the south wind blows, the excessive heat will forbid his taking the air, and oblige him to shut close the doors and windows of his apartments.*

XVII.

OBSERVATION XX.

Dr. Russell, in his description of the weather at Aleppo in September, tells us¹, that seldom a night passes without much *lightning* in the north-west quarter, but not attended with *thunder*; and that when this *lightning* appears in the west or south-west points, it is a *sure sign* of the approaching rain, which is *often followed* with thunder. This last clause, which is not perfectly clear, is afterwards explained in his more enlarged account of the weather of the year 1746, when he tells us, that though it began to be cloudy on the 4th of September, and continued so for a few days, and *even thundered*, yet no rain fell 'till the 11th, which shews that his meaning was, that the *lightning* in the west or south-west points, which is often followed with thunder, is a *sure sign* of the approach of rain. I have before mentioned that a squall of

¹ P. 154.

wind and clouds of dust are the usual fore-runners of these first rains. Most of these things are taken notice of in Pf. cxxxv. 7, Jer. x. 13, Ch. li. 16, and serve to illustrate them. Ruffell's account determines, I think, that the Nefim, which our translators render vapours, must mean, as they elsewhere translate the word, *clouds*. It shews that God "maketh lightnings for the rain," they, in the west and south-west points, being at Aleppo the sure *prognostics* of rain. The squalls of wind bring on these refreshing showers, and are therefore *precious things* of the "treasuries" of God. And when he *thunders*, it is the "noise" of waters in the heavens. How graphically do the Prophets describe the autumnal rains, which God brings on the earth after the drought of summer, and how much greater energy appeareth in these words, after we have gained an acquaintance with the weather in the East, than before!

OBSERVATION XXI.

XVIII.

Upon the *whole*, though the country about Jerufalem is several degrees to the south of Aleppo and Algiers, and a difference not much greater, in point of latitude, has sometimes made a surprizing difference as to the ripening of vegetable productions¹, yet they

F 2

seem

¹ "I could not help being *surprized* at finding so great difference between the climate of Spain and Italy; for those vegetable productions we had some time ago seen ripe in Spain" (about Cadiz;) "as pease and beans for
" in-

seem to pass through their respective gradations at much the same time in all these three places, as appears by comparing the accounts that are given us of Aleppo and Algiers, with the following specimen relating to the Holy-Land.

The *trees* are represented by Albertus Aquensis, as but just grown *green* at Jerusalem in March, *Gesta Dei per Fr.* 309.

And at Aleppo, according to Ruffel, their *leafless* state continues no longer than the end of February or beginning of March.

According to Raimond de Agiles, though a considerable part of the *harvest* was got in at *Ramula*, or *Ramah*, as it is now called, yet not all, when the Croisade army (in which he was) arrived there in the end of May, or beginning of June, *Gesta Dei, &c.* p. 173. In like manner Fulcherius Carnotensis gives us to understand that the harvest at *Ramula* was ripe, but not gathered in, about the middle of May, A. D. 1102, p. 413. See also p. 1017².

And

“ instance, were here” (about Leghorn,) “ now in blossom. We were indeed told, that this was something extraordinary, and owing to the severity of the last winter.” Egmont and Heyman’s Trav. Vol. i. p. 46.

² It is supposed in the Scripture, that the barley-harvest was earlier than the wheat; it is so, it seems, at this day: for Hasselquist found the people carrying home barley, the second of May, N. S, in the country between Acra and

Naza-

And in Barbary, Shaw tells us, *harvest-time* is in like manner in the end of May and beginning of June, p. 137; but at Aleppo it appears to be rather sooner, being generally over by the 20th of May, Ruffell p. 17.

The middle of March was found to be the *earliest time for beans* near Tripoli, (about half-way from Aleppo to Jerusalem,) *Gesta Dei*, &c. p. 26.

And beans are usually full-podded in the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, in Barbary, Shaw, p. 140.

If St. Jerome may be believed, the *vintage* in Judæa is not till the end of September, or beginning of October, Com. in Amos c. 4.

The *vintage* at Aleppo begins as soon, lasting from the 15th of September to the same day of November, according to Egmont and Heyman, V. ii. p. 348. So Shaw says the *grape* begins to ripen in Barbary the latter end of July³, and is ready for the vintage in September, p. 146.

Nazareth, it ripening there about that time, p. 153; but he found the wheat was not ripe the 14th of May, for travelling that day in the road from Acra to Seide, he saw a shepherd eating for his dinner half-ripe ears of wheat after they were roasted, with which Hasselquist himself was also treated by him, p. 166. The wheat then is several days later than the barley.

³ The account of Albertus Aquensis, (*Gesta Dei*, p. 176,) may be understood so as not to contradict this representation.

And we must be content to make our estimate accordingly, and consider the accounts of Aleppo and Algiers as *nearly* descriptive of what happens in the Holy-Land, until a more particular and accurate description of it shall be given us, by some curious observer that shall visit that country.

[I will only add here, that if fruits ripen at Aleppo, Jerusalem, and in Barbary, nearly at the same time, it must have been the latter end of *July*, or rather the beginning of *August*, that the *Spies* were sent out by Moses to search the Promised Land.

For Moses telleth us, the time of giving them their instructions was the *time of the first-ripe* sentation. The siege of Jerusalem by the Croisade army, in 1099, is said to have been begun June the 7th, and to have ended July the 15th, (*Gesta Dei*, p. 750, and 752,) consequently before *grapes* ripen, according to what happens in Barbary; yet Albertus Aquensis, complaining of the great want of water among the besiegers in the abovementioned page, observes, there was always there a great plenty of *grapes* and of wine among the Chiefs, and those that had money. But then those grapes might not be such as grew in that country: in a succeeding place (p. 285.) the same writer tells us, that *pomegranates*, wine, and other refreshments were sent to this siege from *Cyprus* by way of present, and if by way of present they might be carried from thence for sale too. Now, according to Dr. Shaw, *pomegranates* ripen not in Barbary 'till *August*, p. 145, which is later than the time grapes begin to be fit to eat there, consequently the country that could send ripe *pomegranates* to that siege could send ripe grapes, though the grapes about Jerusalem might not be at that time sufficiently ripe. And indeed, had these ripe grapes been the produce of the Holy-Land, the common soldiers would have seized them for their own use: they would not have been tasted only by the wealthy.

grapes,

grapes, Numb. xiii. 20. At forty days end they returned, and brought with them a large bunch of grapes, pomegranates, and figs, v. 23, 25. The three sorts of fruits then are contemporaries, and grapes continue in perfection after they begin to ripen. All this agrees with Dr. Shaw's account, who tells us, *grapes* begin to ripen in Barbary the latter end of *July*, and are ready for the vintage in *September*; that the *kermez* or *kermouse*, the *fig* properly so called, which they preserve and make up into cakes, (consequently that which is most useful for food,) is rarely ripe before *August*; and that that month of *August* produces the *first pomegranates* *. They received their orders about the beginning of *August*, and returned about the middle of *September*; and their observations concerning the *fatness* of the land must have related to the wine, figs, and other fruits of the country, rather than to the *corn*, which had been long gathered in, and laid concealed in *secret repositories*.]

OBSERVATION XXII.

XIX.

We must not however imagine the circumstances of the weather in all these three places are exactly alike: I have already remarked one difference relating to the time of the fall of the first rains in autumn, Dr. Shaw informing us, that they do not fall in

* Tom. I. part 3. §. 2.

the Holy-Land in an usual way 'till about the beginning of November, whereas in Barbary they often fall in September, as they also commonly do, according to Dr. Ruffell, at Aleppo.

If this account concerning the Holy-Land be just, it is visible that the intention of Solomon in Eccles. xi. 2, " Give a portion to *seven*, and also to *eight*, &c," could not be, *give a good portion of thy seed to thy field in the month Tifri, &c*¹, since as Tifri answers to the latter end of September and first part of October, and they do not even begin to plough till after the rains², a *good portion* of their seed could not, in common, be given to the fields of Judæa in Tifri, nor indeed any at all, the sowing of the *earliest* wheat not being till the *middle* of October at Aleppo or Algiers, which yet the Chaldee Paraphrast supposes. But this explanation may perhaps point out the country of the Paraphrast. Were remarks to be made with accuracy on the weather of those eastern countries in which the Jews anciently resided, and on their agriculture, &c, it would serve to explain many passages in their old books, and perhaps determine the countries where such and such books were written, or such and such decisions given. Every body must be sensible, very curious observations might be made on this subject; but as for me, I

¹ See Lightfoot, v. 2. p. 544.

² Shaw p. 137, Ruffell p. 16.

will only remark, that, on account of these differences, these writings are very insufficient to determine points of this kind, of which Dr. Lightfoot has given a very ample and convincing proof.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

XX.

Observations of this kind too may be requisite to be made to explain some passages of Scripture, which speak of the weather in other countries as well as that of Judæa, and should be added as a kind of appendix to the foregoing articles. Thus Jacob complains of the *drought in the day-time* in Mesopotamia, and of the *frost of the nights* there: and accordingly Rauwolff, speaking of his going down the Euphrates, gives us to understand that he was wont to wrap himself up in a frize coat in the night-time, to keep himself from the *frost and dew*, which are very frequent and *violent* there¹; the heat or drought of the day might well be equally complained of by Jacob, for Thevenot tells us², that when he travelled in this country of Mesopotamia, the *heat was so excessive*, that though he wore upon his head a great black handkerchief which he could see through, after the manner of the eastern people when they travel, yet he had many times his forehead so scorched as to swell exceedingly, and so as to have the skin come off, and

¹ Ray's Travels, p. 155, 156.² Part II. p. 52.

that

that his hands also were continually scorched. *In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night.* Gen. xxxi. 40.

[The sixth Vol. of MS. C. enables me to give my readers an addition to this observation, which is too curious to be suppressed.

This passage (he is speaking of Gen. xxxi. 40,) is one of those many places of Scripture, which shew the importance of knowing the nature of those countries, which served as the theatre to all the transactions there recounted. For in Europe the days and nights resemble each other, with respect to the qualities of heat and cold; but it is quite otherwise in the East. In the Lower Asia, in particular, the day is always hot, and as soon as the sun is fifteen degrees above the horizon no cold is felt, in the depth of winter itself. On the contrary, in the height of summer the nights are as cold as at Paris in the month of March. It is for this reason that in Persia and Turkey they always make use of furred habits in the country, such only being sufficient to resist the cold of the nights. I have travelled in Arabia, and in Mesopotamia (the theatre of the adventures of Jacob,) both in winter and in summer, and have found the truth of what the Patriarch said, "That he was scorched with heat in the day, and stifened with cold in the night." This contrariety in the qualities of the air in twenty four hours is extremely great in some places, and not conceivable by those that have not seen it: one would imagine they had passed in a moment
from

from the violent heats of summer to the depth of winter. Thus it hath pleased God to temper the heat of the sun by the coolness of the nights, without which the greatest part of the East would be barren, and a desert: the earth could not produce any thing. And then after some reflections on the temperature of the countries under, or near, the line, and in particular of Batavia: the agreeableness of that country to the constitutions of the Dutch, who transplanted themselves thither from a northern climate; and to the growth of the plants of Europe; he closes with observing, the prophet Jeremiah speaks of this contrariety of the eastern days and nights in his xxxvi ch. v. 30³.

Mr. Drummond, who did not think proper to pass over the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, on account of the brutality of the Officer that commanded at Beer, observed the like difference between the days and nights on the Syrian side of the Euphrates: for he tells us⁴, “ In this country we *always* found the mornings *cold*, and the day *scorching hot.*” There is nothing wonderful in the second particular, but it is natural to be surprized at the first, since this journey from Aleppo to the Euphrates commenced August 17, 1747, and ended the last day of that month. Cold mornings the latter end of August in the Deserts of Arabia, near the Euphrates, appears strange, but is,

³ See also Baruch 2. 29.

⁴ P. 205.

we see, confirmed by very different authors : how well founded then the complaint of Jacob !]

C H A P. II.

Concerning the living in Tents there.

OBSERVATION I.

HOWEVER pleasant the dwelling under tents may be in this country in summer, and the taking now and then a repast there in some favourable days of winter, yet the *severity of the weather at some times* may make the *constant* living in tents seem strange to some, which the Patriarchs are said to do, if not incredible.

This apprehension will not be lessened by the complaints of some modern travellers : such as that of Maundrell, who speaking of lodging under tents in the night preceding the 2d of March, says, they were glad to part early in the morning from their *campagna* lodging, the weather being too *moist and cold* for such discipline ; and presently after, in describing the pouring down of rain, attended with lightning and thunder, on the 3d of March, he complains that they knew not well which to be most concerned for, themselves who enjoyed the *miserable* comfort of a dropping tent, or their servants and

horses, which had nothing but their own clothes to protect them.

They that read such passages may wonder, at the common supposition of Abraham's dwelling in tents *through the whole year* in the land of Canaan; Isaac's and Jacob's imitating his example; and the living of the Rechabites in the same manner, in the days of Jeremiah, and for several ages before his time. That this however was the fact, we have no reason to doubt, since it is done by great numbers in that very country at this day.

I will not say this may be accounted for by observing, that Canaan lies more to the south than the places of which Maundrell speaks; or that they might not so well understand the manner of pitching their tents, for shooting off the rain, as the modern Arabs who live thus, or the Patriarchs: there may be something in those observations, but no great matter. The true answer, I believe, is, that that discipline might appear severe and dangerous to Englishmen, which was safe to the Patriarchs and Rechabites, who were *used to this way of life*, and which is accordingly practised by many *at this very day* even in the *northern* parts of Palæstine.

That the Arabs do now practise it, and spend their *winters* as well as their summers in these habitations, is a most certain fact. So Mons. d'Arvieux, who made a visit to the Arabs of Mount Carmel by order of
Lewis

Lewis XIV, informs us ¹, that they have *no other places to dwell in but tents*, which are fet up in fuch a manner as that the rain flides off without penetrating them. Sandys goes farther ², and fays of thefe Arabs, that they lived in tents, according to the ancient cuftom of that nation, even *during the winter*, although poffefft of *fundry convenient houfes*.

I do not know that any *have* made this account of the Patriarchs living in tents, an objection to the Old Testament hiftory; but had not the fact been uncontrovertible, Maundrell's complaints might have formed an objection as plaufible as multitudes that *are made*, and which arife merely from our unacquaintednefs with antiquity, and the manners of the Eaft.

OBSERVATION II.

Our people, who are fo extremely watchful over their public paltures to guard them from intruders, and fo ready to go to law with their next neighbours about their *right* to common, or the *number of beafts* they fhall feed there, may think it very ftrange that Abraham and Lot, the Kenites and Rechabites, fhould have been permitted to move up and down, and feed their flocks and herds unmolefted, in *inhabited countries* as well as in *deferts*.

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque p. 173. ² P. 158.

But this ancient custom still continues in *Palæstine*, which, depopulated as it is, probably has as many inhabitants in its towns, as it had in the days of Abraham. Nor is this peculiar to Palæstine; there are many that live in Barbary, and other places, in the same manner. And as the Kenites and Rechabites lived in Palæstine in tents, and pastured their cattle there without molestation when the country was *very populous*, so Maillet assures us³ that great numbers of these people that live in tents, come into Ægypt itself to pasture their cattle, a very populous country, and indeed the *Holland* of the Levant. As I do not know his account has ever appeared in English, I will here give it my reader.

“ Besides these native inhabitants of
 “ Ægypt, who have fixed habitations, and
 “ compose those *numerous and populous vil-*
 “ *lages* of which I have spoken above, there
 “ are also in that part of the country
 “ that is next the deserts, and even *often in*
 “ *those that border on the Nile*, a sort of wan-
 “ dering people, who dwell in tents, and
 “ change their habitation, as the want of
 “ pasture or the variety of the seasons lead
 “ them. These people are called Bedouin
 “ Arabs; and we may reckon there are
 “ above *two millions* of them in Ægypt.
 “ Some keep on the mountains, and at a
 “ distance from the cities and villages, but

³ Let. 1. p. 24, 25.

“ always

“ always in places where it is easy for them
“ to have water. Others pitch their tents,
“ which are very low and poor, in the
“ neighbourhood of places that are inha-
“ bited, where they permit them for a small
“ recompence to feed their flocks. They
“ even give them up some lands to culti-
“ vate for their own use, only to avoid
“ having any misunderstanding with people,
“ who can do a great deal of mischief with-
“ out any danger of having it returned upon
“ them. For to avoid every thing of this
“ kind, they have nothing to do but to pe-
“ netrate a day’s journey into the deserts,
“ where by their extreme frugality, and by
“ the knowledge they have of places of
“ water, they can subsist several months
“ without great difficulty. There is not a
“ more agreeable sight in the world, than
“ the beholding in the months of Novem-
“ ber, December, and January, those vast
“ meadows, where the grafs, almost as high
“ as a man, is so thick, that a bullock laid
“ in it has enough of it without rising,
“ within his reach, to feed on for a whole
“ day, all covered with habitations and tents,
“ with people and herds. And indeed it is
“ at this time of the year that the Bedouins
“ flock into Ægypt, from three or four hun-
“ dred leagues distance, in order to feed their
“ camels and horses there. The tribute
“ which they require of them for granting
“ this permission, they pay with the produce
“ of

“ of some manufactures of their wool, or
“ with some sheep, which they sell as well
“ as their lambs, or some young camels,
“ which they dispose of. As to what re-
“ mains, accustomed as they are to extreme
“ frugality, they live on a little, and a very
“ small matter is sufficient for their support.
“ After having spent a certain space of time
“ in the *neighbourhood of the Nile*, they retire
“ into the deserts, from whence by routs,
“ with which they are acquainted, they pass
“ into other regions, to dwell there in like
“ manner some months of the year, till the
“ return of the usual season calls them back
“ to Ægypt.”

We see here that they are at liberty to feed their cattle, not only in the deserts adjoining to cultivated countries, but in those countries themselves, and in those that are full of people too. The commons then of these countries are not, cannot be appropriated to this or that village, this or that district, but lie open to all, nor have they any notion of *our* rights of commoning¹. It was so anciently in Israel, as appears by the case of the Kenites and Rechabites; as well as by that ancient constitution among the Jews, ascribed by them to Joshua, and which is the first of ten that are supposed to have been established by him, by which it was lawful to feed a flock in the woods, *every where*, without any regard to the division of the

¹ Vide Relandi Palæst. p. 261. .

lands between the tribes, so that those of the tribe of Naphthali might feed a flock in the woods of the tribe of Judah. These usages are extremely contrary to ours; the observing therefore that they *continue still in full force* in the East, may be requisite to engage us to admit such suppositions, in settling the Old Testament history, as we might otherwise hardly be willing to allow.

OBSERVATION III.

[Though they have tents for their own dwelling, we cannot suppose the Arabs have many conveniences for sheltering their cattle, but that in common they are left exposed to all weathers.

When the prophet Ezekiel threatens the Ammonites, that Rabbah, their capital, should be a *stable for camels*, we are not to imagine the Arabs were obliged to have such places, for these more tender animals. Sir J. Chardin, in a note on that place¹, assures us of the contrary: *As they give camels to eat on the ground, he tells us, and do not litter them, they want no buildings for them. And accordingly as camels feed in very barren and dry places, where only nettles and thorns grow, which they eat, and thistles and heath, and remain abroad in rain and snow, they are afraid of nothing for them but mire, where they slip, and plunge, and fall, in which case they rise again with difficulty.*

¹ Ezek. 25. 5.

It is true, Dr. Shaw supposes ² the cattle of these countries would be much more numerous than they are, if they had some little shelter in winter; but as it is, they are in great numbers, and we find the *camel* itself will pass through their winters very well without such conveniences, from what Sir J. Chardin hath told us.

Ruins are indeed not unfrequently made use of in these countries for the *sheltering their cattle* ³, and we may very possibly suppose Ezekiel thought of this management, when he describeth Rabbah as being to be made a place of camels, which is all the original means, I apprehend, the word being by no means so determinate as the English term *stable*, and may as well be understood to signify, that camels should *eat the vegetables* which should grow in the place where Rabbah then stood, as that they should make use of the ruins of that city for *shelter* during the night, or in winter, for their camels, which the term *stable* seems to imply. So it is translated *pastures*, Pf. xxiii. 2.]

OBSERVATION IV.

III.

But they not only feed their flocks and their herds, it seems, they sometimes also *sow corn* in these lands, according to Maillet.

This however is not so readily admitted as the other. In Barbary, indeed, it appears to be very common, but that it is not so agree-

P. 169. ² Maundrell, p. 19, and many other authors.

able to the people of Ægypt, we may learn from what Capt. Norden relates of a Bedouin in Ægypt, whose name was Haffer Abuaffi, who dwelt near the mountains opposite to Monfaluut, and sowed and planted there, levying a tythe also upon the crops of his subjects, which was without the permission of the government at Cairo, and occasioned a report to be spread every time that the Senschiak went to Monfaluut, that it was determined to make war upon him, though the affair was always accommodated by means of some purses, or other presents that he made ¹.

May we not from hence conjecture, that the Rechabites did *at first* conduct themselves as the Arabs of Barbary now do, and some of the Bedouins of Ægypt, but that some misunderstandings, of great consequence, arising hence in process of time between them and the children of Israel, and which were owing to wine, Jonadab, who was then the sheek or head of that family, solemnly charged them for the future never to drink wine, which had been the immediate cause of this terrible feud, nor to attempt to sow any lands, which had been the more remote occasion of it, but to content themselves with feeding their flocks and herds in the common pastures of that country; that so none of these animosities might for time to come arise, and the umbrage they had lately given the Israelites might be forgotten; which injunction of

¹ Vol. 2. p. 32.

their chief they had sacredly obeyed to the days of the prophet Jeremiah ?

What may appear more extraordinary still is, that these Bedouins, who do sow, are looked upon to be *very sagacious* in the choice of the lands they cultivate: so the author of the history of the piratical states of Barbary tells us ², who observes, that the Moors of that country are divided into tribes like the Arabians, and like them dwell in tents formed into itinerant villages; that “ these *wanderers* farm lands of the inhabitants of “ the towns, sow and cultivate them, paying their rent with the produce, such as “ fruits, corn, wax, &c. They are *very skilful* in chusing the most advantageous “ soils for every season, and very careful to “ avoid the Turkish troops, the violence of “ the one little suiting the simplicity of the “ other.” It appeareth from Dr. Shaw, that those whom the author of this history of the piratical states calls Moors, and describeth as like the Arabians, are in truth Bedouins, or Arabs ³.

One would think that Isaac possessed the *like sagacity*, when he sowed in the land of Gerar, and received that year an *hundred-fold*, Gen. xxvi. 12. It should seem too, from the circumstances of the story, that those lands Isaac cultivated were like those of these Moors, *hired* of the fixed inhabitants of the country; there would otherwise have been no

² P. 44, 45.

³ P. 220, &c.

pretence for the king of Gerar to have said to him, "Go from us, for thou art mightier than we," v. 16. To have said to a person of Isaac's power, who cultivated lands in the neighbourhood of Gerar, but to which Gerar had no right, "depart," would have been an insolence that king would hardly have ventured upon; but if the right of farming these lands depended on agreements made with Gerar, the king of that country might, after the reaping the crop, gracefully enough refuse his permission a second time, and assign this as the reason.

IV.

OBSERVATION V.

Inconsistent then as this flitting kind of life seems to be with agriculture, the more peaceful Bedouins of these times still practise it, as the Patriarchs sometimes did of old; but there are other Arabs, that rather supply themselves with corn *by violence* than by tillage.

The account prefixed to those noble Ruins of Balbec, published in 1757, mentions one kind of depredation I never before took notice of, and which deserves particular attention: it is the robbing the husbandmen of their *seed-corn*. The valley in which Balbec stands, though very rich, and capable of being made a most delightful spot, produces very little wood, and indeed "though shade," says the ingenious publisher of these

these drawings², “ be so essential an article
 “ of *Oriental* luxury, yet few plantations
 “ of trees are seen in Turkey, the inhabi-
 “ tants being discouraged from labours which
 “ produce such distant and precarious enjoy-
 “ ment, in a country where even the annual
 “ fruits of their industry are uncertain. In
 “ *Palæstine* we have *often* seen the husband-
 “ man sowing, accompanied by an armed
 “ friend to prevent his being *robbed of the*
 “ *seed.*”

The over-running desolate countries by the Arabs is mentioned in Ezek. xxv. 4; and their lying in wait for prey, Jer. iii. 2; and this robbing the husbandman of his seed, seems also to have been an ancient practice of theirs, and to have been referred to Ps. cxxvi. 5, 6, and made an image, by the Psalmist, of the happy issue of the first essays of the Jews to re-people their country: for surely it is much more natural to suppose these verses refer to violences of this sort, than to imagine with many interpreters, indeed all, for ought I know, that have touched on this circumstance, that they allude to a countryman's anxiety who sows his corn in a very *scarce* time, and is afraid of the failure of the next crop.

The Israelites that returned from Babylon, upon the proclamation of Cyrus, were undoubtedly in similar circumstances to husbandmen sowing their corn, amidst surround-

¹ P. 5.

ing encampments of oppressive Arabs. Their rebuilding their towns and their temple resembled a time of sowing, for from these things they were willing to hope for a great increase of people; but they that continued in Babylon had reason to be jealous, that the neighbouring nations would defeat these efforts, and destroy these rising settlements. A sacred historian expressly mentions such difficulties, “ When Sanballat, and Tobiah, “ and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, “ and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls “ of Jerusalem were made up, and that the “ breaches began to be stopped, then they “ were very wroth, and conspired all of “ them together, to come and to fight against “ Jerusalem, and to hinder it.” Neh. iv. 7, 8. Nor was it difficult to foresee these oppositions: the Arabs had undoubtedly pastured their flocks and herds, and pitched their tents *all over* Judæa when left desolate, and perhaps others of the neighbouring nations had seized upon some of the dispeopled districts, that laid most convenient for them; it was then the interest of the Arabs, and of such other nations, to discourage what in them laid the return of Israel in any numbers into the country of their fathers. In opposition to this jealousy the Prophet *expresses his hope, perhaps predicts*, that there would be an happy issue of these beginnings to re-people their country. *Make the people of our captivity to return, O Lord! into their country,*

country, like the streams of the south, to cause these deserts to flourish again; let them be persuaded, that though they lay these foundations of repeopling their country with an anxiety like that of a poor husbandman, that goes forth weeping, for fear he should be robbed of his seed, they shall feel a joy hereafter like his when he brings back his sheaves with rejoicing, in the thorough re-establishment of Israel in Judæa, so as to have no cause to apprehend any thing from the surrounding nations.

OBSERVATION VI.

V.

If they rob the countryman of his *seed-corn*, much more is it to be thought they often seize on the corn, and other fruits of the earth, when growing ripe.

So Egmont and Heyman, in their travels in Galilee, found a large plain bordering on the lake of Tiberias, which was sown with rice, but to which they perceived the Arabians had already paid a visit, though great part of the corn was not then ripe[†].

But what I would rather observe here is, that they treat the fruit-trees after the same manner, and oblige the inhabitants of these countries to gather their fruits before they are ripe, when they apprehend any danger from these mischievous neighbours. So Maillet ascribes the alteration for the worse, that is found in the wine of a province in

[†] V. 2. p. 37.

Ægypt, which formerly produced wine of that excellence, as to be esteemed the third best of all those that were drank at Rome, to *the precipitation* (in a great measure) with which they now gather the grapes². The cause of this, which occasions *so bad an effect*, he gives an account of in the following page, saying, “ that this province of Fioum is
 “ surrounded with Arabs, *who frequently*
 “ *make excursions into it, especially in the season*
 “ *in which the fruits begin to ripen, which that*
 “ *district produces in great abundance. It is to*
 “ *save them from the depredations of the Arabs,*
 “ *that the inhabitants of this country gather them*
 “ before they come to maturity, *sending them*
 “ to Cairo, where they find no difficulty to dispose
 “ of them, though they are not ripe.”

It is this circumstance, I imagine, that must explain the passage of the Prophet³,
 “ Behold, the days come, saith the Lord,
 “ that the ploughman shall overtake the
 “ reaper, and the *treader of grapes* him that
 “ *soweth seed*, and the mountains shall drop
 “ *sweet wine*, and all the hills shall melt.”
 That is, the days shall come when the *grapes* shall not be gathered, as they were wont before to be, in a state of immaturity, for fear of Arabs or other destroying nations, but they shall be suffered to hang even till the time of ploughing, so perfect shall be the *security* of those times.

² Let. 8. p. 294, 295.

³ Amos 9. 13.

This explanation removes the difficulty that might otherwise arise here: for the rains falling in the beginning of November in the Holy-Land, and the sowing following presently after, what would there be astonishing in the treader of grapes *overtaking* or meeting with him that sowed seed, since the travels of Egmont and Heyman ⁴ expressly affirm, that the vintage at Aleppo lasts from the 15th of September to the same day of November? and I have elsewhere shewn ⁵, that the vegetable productions of Judæa, Aleppo, and Barbary, are *nearly* contemporary. It is certain, that nothing, according to those travellers, is more common at Aleppo than this running of the vintage and sowing-season into one, since in the same page that they affirm the vintage lasteth to the 15th of November, they say, the sowing-season begins there towards the close of October, and lasts all November.

The grape however ripeneth much sooner: for Dr. Shaw, who telleth us, agreeably to Egmont and Heyman's account, that in Barbary the grape is ready for the vintage in September, telleth us also, that it *ripens* towards the latter end of July ⁶; and consequently, when surrounded with Arabs, Judæa, through fear of them, became obliged to hurry on the vintage, it might be over months before the sowing-time began, but the wine made in this manner could not be *sweet-wine*.

⁴ V. 2. p. 348.

⁵ Ch. 1. Obs. 21.

⁶ P. 146.

On the other hand, though the grapes of Judæa might be sufficiently ripened for the vintage in common by September, yet it being very well known⁷, that their *hanging long* on the trees makes the wine much the richer, more generous and *sweet*; the delaying the time of treading grapes there till the time of sowing, perfectly well answers the latter part of the verse, “ And the mountains shall drop *sweet wine*.” Answerable to this la Roque found the monks of Canubin in Mount Lebanon absent from their monastery, (for the most part,) and busied in their vintage⁸, when he was there the end of October, or beginning of November, who are noted for the richness and excellence of their wines⁹.

[And as the *treader of grapes* was to overtake *him that sowed seed*, so also was the *ploughman*, according to the prophet, to overtake the *reaper*: that is, I apprehend, no fear of *approaching enemies* should engage the ploughman to discontinue his employment, but he should go on cultivating the ground, in the pleasureable hope of enjoying *all* the various productions of the field, till harvest began.

⁷ Voy. le Dict. des Drogues par Monf. Lemery dans l'Art. Vinum. “ Quand on veut faire le vin muscat, on laisse *bien* meurir le raisin muscat, puis on *en tord* la grape sur la vigne, afin qu'elle ne reçoive plus de nourriture, & que ses grains soient fanés ou *un peu rôtis* par l'ardeur du Soleil, &c.

⁸ Voy. de Syrie, Tome I. p. 54. ⁹ P. 55.

In the first edition of this work, I explained this part of the words of Amos, as signifying, *that the ploughman should not have any thing to do, after committing seed to the earth, but to wait in undisturbed quiet for the time of reaping, no intervening labours of defence and war separating the harvest from the seed-time; but I am now persuaded, the energy of this representation is hardly sufficient to answer the other part of the prophetic promise, and that there are sufficient grounds for the new account I have proposed.*

The *harvest*, I have already observed ¹⁰, may be reckoned to begin about the middle of May, N. S; the ploughman at Aleppo begins his work about the latter end of September, sowing his earliest wheat about the middle of October, and as the frosts are never severe enough to prevent his *ploughing all winter*, so they continue there to sow all sorts of grain to the end of January, and barley sometimes *after the middle of February* ¹¹, and this, I think, according to O. S, and consequently barley is, according to this account, sown in the end of February, N. S, or the beginning of March.

The work of the ploughman doth not terminate upon sowing barley in the Holy-Land. Mr. Maundrell, who left Jerusalem April the 15th O. S, and consequently the 26th, as we now reckon, found the country people every where at *plough* in the fields

¹⁰ Ch. I. Obs. II and 18. ¹¹ Russell p. 16.

then,

then, in order to sow *cotton*¹². This ploughing made a near approach to their harvest.

According to Ruffell¹³, a *great variety* of vegetables is sown in the eastern fields, some of which are sown very late in the spring, as well as cotton; *water-melons* in particular, and other vegetables of that tribe¹⁴, which are so cooling, and consequently of such importance to render life agreeable in those hot countries.

These pleasing expectations were, however, often disappointed, and this later cultivating their grounds prevented by the irruption of enemies, who broke into the country before their barley and wheat were ripe, and consequently before their harvest began. So we find the Midianites, with the Amalekites, and the rest of the children of the East, came up against the Israelites, and encamped against them, and destroyed the increase of the earth, and left no sustenance to Israel, Judges vi. 3, 4. Israel then, instead of going on with the cultivation of their grounds, withdrew into dens on the mountains, and caves, and strong-holds, v. 2; and threshed what little corn they could save out of their hands by stealth, v. 11.]

Amos then speaks of the perfect quiet and freedom from disturbances in that country, in those days to which the prophecy relates; whereas all commentators, so far as I have

¹² P. 110. ¹³ P. 16 and 17. ¹⁴ See Pococke's Travels, V. 2. p. 164.

observed,

observed, suppose this passage either expresses the temperateness of the seasons only, or the abundance of the productions of the earth in those times, neither of which is the *complete* thought of the Prophet, though they may be both indirectly involved in his words. The following words of building the *waste* cities and inhabiting them, planting vineyards and *drinking the wine* of them, making *gardens* and eating the fruit thereof, perfectly agree with this explanation. But it very ill suits with the opinion of those that suppose abundance only is intended, that the first part of the verse in that view only speaks of *abundance of work*, long continued ploughing, and says nothing of the plenty of the crop; for which reason, I suppose, it was, that the Septuagint, not entering into the view of the prophecy, translated the words *the time of harvest shall overtake the vintage*, &c.

OBSERVATION VII.

[Great is the *attention* with which the Arabs watch for passengers, whom they may spoil.

Jeremiah refers to this watching of theirs, ch. iii. 2, “ In the ways hast thou sat for “ them, as the Arabians in the wilderness.”

Every one knows the general intention of the Prophet, but the MS. C. has given so strong, and lively a description of the eagerness that attends their looking out for prey,
that

that I am persuaded my readers will be pleased with it, and for that reason I would here insert it. *Thus the Arabs wait for caravans with the most violent avidity, looking about them on all sides, raising themselves up on their horses, running here and there to see if they cannot perceive any smoke, or dust, or tracks on the ground, or any other marks of people passing along.*]

VI.

OBSERVATION VIII.

Among other *violences* of the *Arabs*, that of *riding into the houses* of those they mean to harrass, is not one of the least observable; the rather, as it seems to be referred to in the scriptures.

To prevent this insult, and the mischief these *Arabs* might do them, Thevenot tells us¹, that the *door* of the house in which the Frenchmerchants lived at Rama, was not three feet high, and that all the doors of that town are equally low, to hinder the *Arabs* from entering their houses on *horseback*; and afterwards speaks of a large door going into the church at Bethlehem, which has been walled up, and only a *wicket* left in it three feet high and two wide, to hinder the *Arabs* from entering the church with their *horses*. Other authors have made the like observations².

Now may not that passage in the Proverbs refer to this, “ He that *exalteth his gate,*

¹ Part 1. p. 181. ² Sandys p. 117. Le Bruyn, Tome 2. p. 224. Uigmont and Heyman, Vol. 1. p. 300.

“ seeketh

“ seeketh destruction, or calamity ?” ch. xvii. 19. The Royal Preacher elsewhere saith, “ *Pride* goeth before destruction, and an “ *haughty spirit* before a fall ;” and again, “ Before destruction the heart of man is “ *haughty*, and before honour is humility ;” which seem to be the same thought in general with that of the text I am considering : if then he thought fit to come to particulars, why is the *height of the gate* of an haughty person mentioned, rather than other *circumstances of magnificence* in a building ? rather than the *wideness* of the house, the *airiness* of the rooms, the *cutting out windows*, the *cedar-ceilings*, and the *vermilion*, which are all mentioned by Jeremiah as pieces of *grandeur* ³ ? It can hardly be imagined that Solomon mentioned the stateliness of the gateway of an house without a particular meaning ; but if bands of Arabs had taken the advantage of large doors to enter into houses that stood in the confines of Solomon’s kingdom, or of neighbouring countries with which the Jews were well acquainted, there is a most graceful vivacity in the apophthegm.

I do not know whether there is not another passage that refers to this riding into houses, I mean Zeph. i. 8, 9 : “ I will pu-
“ nish the princes, and the king’s children,
“ and all such as are clothed with strange
“ apparel. In the same day also will I
“ punish all those that *leap upon the thresh-*

³ Ch. 22. 14.

“bold, which fill their masters houses with violence and deceit.” *Those that wear strange apparel* are words which, in this connexion, seem only to mean the rich that were conscious of such power and influence, as to dare, in a time of oppression and danger, to avow their riches, and who therefore were not afraid to wear the precious manufactures of *strange countries* ⁴, though they were neither magistrates, nor yet of royal descent. A great number of attendants is a modern piece of oriental magnificence, as I shall hereafter have occasion to remark, it appears to have been so anciently, Eccles. v. 11; these servants now, it is most certain, frequently attend their master *on horseback*, richly attired, sometimes to the number of twenty five or thirty ⁵, if they did so anciently, such a number of servants attending great men, who are represented by this very Prophet as at that time in common terrible oppressors, Ch. iii. 3, may be naturally supposed to ride into peoples houses, and having gained an admission by deceit, to force from them by violence considerable contributions: for this riding into houses is not *now* only practised *by the Arabs*, it consequently might be practised *by others too anciently*. It is not now peculiar to the *Arabs*, for le

⁴ So fine linen and brodered work, which the great wore, are represented as the produce of Ægypt by the Prophet Ezekiel, Ch. 27. 7. ⁵ Voy. Maillet Lett. 12. p. 168.

Bruyn, after describing the magnificent furniture of several of the Armenian merchants at Julfa, that suburb of Ispahan in which they live, tells us that the front-door of the greatest part of these houses is very small, partly to hinder the *Persians* from entering into them *on horseback*, and partly that they may less observe the magnificence within. To which ought to be added, what he elsewhere observes, that these Armenians are treated with great rigour and insolence by the Persians. If this text refers to a violence of this sort, they are the thresholds of the oppressed over which they leaped, (not the thresholds of the oppressive masters, which some have supposed,) when they returned home laden with spoil.

As to the opinion, that the Prophet alludes here to the idolatrous observance that obtained among the worshippers of Dagon, 1 Sam. v. 5, it can have nothing to recommend it, I think, but its being proposed by so old a writer as the Chaldee Paraphrast.

OBSERVATION IX.

VII.

These and other violences of the Arabs frequently draw upon them alarms, and occasion them to live in a state of apprehension. For this reason those of the same family or clan *usually* live near one another, in order to be mutually assisting to each other.

Thus the eighteen Arab Emirs of the family that d'Arvieux visited, kept near one another, encamping at no greater a distance from their chief than a league or two¹, and all *removing together* every month, sometimes every fortnight, as their cattle wanted fresh pasture, in order to be able to assemble together with ease. May not this circumstance serve to explain the words of the angel, "He (Ishmael) shall dwell *in the presence of* " *all his brethren?*" It is not, indeed, one of the several senses the Synopsis Criticorum of Pool has given of that clause, but is it not as natural as any of them? I am sure it agrees *as well* with the preceding part of the prophecy, "He will be a wild man; his hand " will be against every man, and every man's " hand against him," and therefore he will find it requisite not to suffer his descendents and friends to live dispersed up and down, but to require them to encamp together.

So did not Abraham. The measures that he and the other pacific Patriarchs took, were very different from Ishmael's, and those of the modern Arabs. When the flocks and the herds of Abraham multiplied, he thought it best that he and *his Nephew* Lot should part; and Jacob, instead of removing his tents every time it became requisite to seek new pasture, detached *his sons* from him, and sometimes to a considerable distance, Gen. xxxvii. And indeed the angel in foretelling

¹ La Roque Voy. dans la Pal. p. 103. 106.

that

that Ishmael should be a wild-man, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him, plainly intimates that *his* way of life would greatly *differ* from that of his father Abraham, if the prophecy doth not even point out a kind of life *until then unknown*. It is certain, most, if not all, of those that live this kind of life, derive their descent from Ishmael.

OBSERVATION X.

VIII.

When the Arabs have drawn upon themselves such a *general* resentment of the more fixed inhabitants of those countries, that they think themselves unable to stand against them, they withdraw into the *depths* of the great wilderness, where none can follow them with hopes of success.

This appears by a passage of Maillet which I have already cited under the second Observation, and shall not therefore here repeat. The same thing is mentioned by other writers: by d'Arvieux among the rest¹, who tells us they will be quite ready to decamp upon less than two hours warning, and retiring immediately into the deserts render it impossible to other nations, even the most powerful, to conquer them; they not daring to venture far into the deserts, where the Arabs *alone* know how to steer their course so as to hit upon places of water and forage.

¹ La Roque Voy. dans la Pal. p. 190, 191.

Of the living in Tents

Is it not then most probable that the *dwelling deep*, which Jeremiah recommends to some Arab tribes, (Ch. xlix. 8, 30,) means this plunging far into the deserts; rather than going into deep caves, and dens, as Grotius and other commentators suppose? That way of endeavouring to avoid the fury of an enemy was indeed practised, not only before the days of the Prophet, see Judges vi. 2, 1 Sam. xiii. 6, but long after, as we see in the Croisade-writers²; but those learned men will find it extremely difficult, I believe, to produce any passages that shew, the *Arabs that live in tents* were wont to look upon this as a proper method for *them* to take: their way is to retire far into the deserts, not enter into the bowels of the earth; and so far are they from making *caves* their refuge, that it is observed of this nation, that when they possess *cities and palaces*, they never will dwell in them, looking upon such places rather as *traps*, than places of defence³, as, in similar cases, they were looked upon anciently⁴. All those places of the Croisade-writers that I have marked in the bottom of the page, and which relate to retiring into caves to avoid danger, speak of people that lived a settled kind of life, not a sitting one in tents.

² *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 405. 734. 781. ³ Sandys, p. 158. *La Roque Voy. dans la Pal.* p. 111. ⁴ 1 Sam. 23: 7.

That *Hazor*, which is directed to get far off, and to *dwell deep*⁵, was a nation that *lived in tents*, appeareth from this very paragraph of the Prophet, “ Arise,” said Nebuchadnezzar to his people, when he conceived a purpose against *Hazor*, “ get ye up to the “ wealthy nation that dwelleth without care, “ which have neither *gates nor bars*, which “ dwell alone.” A plain description of the Bedouin way of living, and therefore this dwelling deep hardly admits of any other meaning, if we would interpret the Scriptures from Eastern customs.

I cannot but observe farther, that the words the Prophet uses perfectly agree with this explanation, not with that of Grotius, “ Flee, “ *get you far off*, dwell deep, &c.” The caves to which the Eastern people have been wont to retire, are *in their very towns*, or in the *neighbourhood of their dwellings* at least, not far off. Such was that which Afa made, Jer. xli. 7, 9.

As the same term of *dwelling deep* is applied to Dedan, it is reasonable to suppose they also were a tribe of Arabs that lived in tents. The learned, from *other considerations*, have said the same thing⁶.

This sense of the original word, according to which *deep* is used for *far off*, seems to be confirmed by other places: *deeply* revolting from God, Isa. xxxi. 6, signifying departing far from him; and people of a deep

⁵ Jer. 49. 30. ⁶ Vide Vitringæ Com. in Jes. 21. 13.

lip, or speech, Ezek. iii. 5, 6, meaning people that used the language of some remote country.

IX.

OBSERVATION XI.

As the Arabs can, in this manner, withdraw out of the reach of *very potent* enemies, so can they if provoked occasion them very great bitterneſſes, it not being poſſible to be *always* guarded againſt them. It is but a little while ago, that the public papers gave an account of their deſtroying many thouſands of the Mecca pilgrims, upon ſome diſguſt the Turkiſh government had given them, and filling the whole country with lamentation¹. Nor doth the victorionſneſs of the moſt ſucceſſful princes intimidate them, in many caſes. Thus Curtius tells us they ſet upon the troops of Alexander himſelf, the mighty conqueror of Aſia, when they found them unguarded in Lebanon, and ſlew ſome, and took others². It is to theſe inſults of theirs, I ſuppoſe, that Jeremiah refers, when, after foretelling the ſucceſs of Nebuchadnezzar in Ægypt, he ſays that he ſhould go *forth thence in peace*, Jer. xliii. 12.

The deſerts that lie between Ægypt and Syria are at this day terribly infeſted by the wild Arabs. “ In travelling along the ſea-coaſt of *Syria*, and from *Suez* to *Mount Sinai*,” ſays Dr. Shaw³, “ we were in lit-

¹ About the year 1758. Voy. Niebuhr, p. 331. ² Lib. 4. c. 2. ³ Pref. p. 9, 10.

“tle or no danger of being robbed or insulted—In the *Holy-Land*, and upon the *Isthmus* betwixt *Ægypt* and the *Red-sea*, our conductors cannot be too numerous.” He then goes on to inform his readers, that when he went from Ramah to Jerusalem, though the pilgrims themselves were more than six thousand, and were escorted by four bands of Turkish infantry, exclusive of three or four hundred Spahees [Cavalry], yet were they most barbarously insulted and beaten by the Arabs. This same desert, between Gaza and *Ægypt*, appears to have been a scene of injuries also in the time of St. Jerome⁴; and to have been under the power of the Arabs much more anciently still, for la Roque, in a note on that passage of d’Arvieux which I cited under the last article, observes that Cambyfes, a little after Nebuchadnezzar’s time, was enabled to pass through these deserts by means of those supplies of water an Arab prince conveyed to him. A conquering prince’s passing out of a country, which he had perfectly subdued, in peace, would not in common have been the subject of a *prediction*; but in this case, as it was the passing through deserts where the Arabs at that time were, as they still are, so much masters, who were not afraid upon occasion to insult the most victorious princes, the mentioning this circumstance was not unworthy the spirit of prophecy.

⁴ Vide Hier. in Vita Hilar. v. 1. p. 242.

This

This may lead us too, perhaps, to the true sense of the preceding words, “ And he shall array himself with the land of Ægypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment,” a sense which is not to be met with, I think, in the voluminous collections of Pool, nor, so far as I know, any where else ; for I should suppose it signifies, that just as a person appearing to be a shepherd, passed unmolested in common by the wild Arabs, so Nebuchadnezzar, by his subduing Ægypt, shall induce the Arab tribes to suffer him to go out of that country *unmolested*, the possession of Ægypt being to him what a *shepherd’s garment* was to a single person : for though, upon occasion, the Arabs are not afraid to affront the most powerful princes, it is not to be imagined that conquest and power have no effect upon them. “ They that dwell in the wilderness,” says the Psalmist, referring to these Arabs, “ shall bow before him,” whom he had described immediately before, *as having dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth*, and which he questionless supposes was the great inducement to that submission.

Thus the Arab that was charged with the care of conducting Dr. Pococke to Jerusalem, after secreting him for some time in his tent, when he took him out into the fields, to walk there, put on him his striped garment^s ; apparently for his security, and that he might

^s V. 2. p. 6.

pass for an Arab. So d'Arvieux, when he was sent by the Consul of Sidon to the camp of the Grand Emir, equipped himself for the greater security exactly like an Arab, and accordingly passed unmolested, unquestioned.

The employment of the Arabs is to feed cattle, and consequently a *shepherd's garment* may mean the same thing with the *Arab dress*. Or if it signifies something different, as there are Rushwans and Turkmen about Aleppo, who live in tents and feed cattle, much as the Arabs do, according to Dr. Russell; and as a passage in Isaiah (Ch. xiii. 20) seems to insinuate there was a like distinction in his times, "Neither shall the *Arabian* pitch tent there, neither shall the *shepherds* make their fold there;" that *different dress* of a shepherd, whatever it was, must equally protect a person in those deserts, for there would be no such thing as feeding of cattle in them, if such sort of persons were molested by the Arabs as passengers are.

OBSERVATION XII.

X.

Shepherds however might, in some cases, be ill-treated by the Arabs without doubt, for we find that one Arab will sometimes treat another very badly. Thus the author of the account of the ruins of Balbec, describing his journey from Palmyra thither, tells us ¹ that *about four hours before their*

¹ Ruins of Balbec, p. 2.

arrival

arrival at Carietein, they discovered a party of Arabian horse-men at a distance; to which, had they been superior in number, they must have fallen an easy prey, in the languid state to which both their men and horses were reduced, by a march of above twenty hours over the burning sands: but upon their nearer approach they began to retire precipitately, and abandoned some cattle, which their friends seized, as a matter of course, “laughing,” says he, “at our remonstrances against their injustice.” Their friends, their Arabian escort, that is, which guarded them to and from Palmyra. In like manner Egmont and Heyman complain², that they could not get their Arab guides to carry them to Tor, in their return from Mount Sinai to Cairo; who gave this reason for their refusal, *that they might happen to fall in with some of the Arabians their enemies, and thus lose both their camels and goods.*

The *Arabs* then treat *other Arabs* with whom they have misunderstandings in a harsh manner, and perhaps those that only belong to distant tribes, with whom they have no particular connexions of friendship: but this is not all, they often treat their *confederates*, of a more peaceful turn of mind than themselves, in a very oppressive way, of which the *Religious* of a convent near Mount Sinai can furnish us with a striking instance, who having by the labour of some days cleansed a

² V. 2. p. 181.

capacious cistern near it, which receives its water from the convent, and liberally refreshes therewith the Arabs and their cattle, but was choaked up with an immense quantity of gravel and stone, washed down by severe rains from the mountains, yet were they not suffered to return by these ungrateful Arabs, for whose convenience all this labour had been bestowed, without paying them money, and giving them provisions besides, for the permission. This Dr. Shaw himself was an eye-witness of, it being done while he was there³. And yet the chiefs of these neighbouring Arabs, we are expressly told in the travels of Egmont and Heyman, are stiled the *defenders of the convent of Mount Sinai*⁴.

That this rapaciousness obtained very early among them, we have reason to believe, since we know that they were in the most ancient times guilty of great violences toward passengers⁵; and to this rapaciousness the Septuagint seem also to refer, in their representation of David's message to Nabal, "Behold, I have heard that thy shepherds are now shearing for thee, they were with us in the wilderness, and we have not hindered them, nor have we commanded them any thing, all the days of their being in Carmel," 1 Sam. xxv. 7—This is translating like people perfectly well acquainted with the management of the Arab Emirs,

³ P. 439.⁴ V. 2. p. 157.⁵ See Jer. 3. 2.

whose

whose manners David, though he lived in the wilderness as they did, had not adopted. One of *them*, at the head of six hundred men, would have *commanded* from time to time some provisions, or other present, from Nabal's servants, for permitting them to feed in quiet; and would have *driven them away* from the watering-place upon any dislike. He had not done either. Nor is this a misrepresentation of the Septuagint's: the Hebrew word which we translate *hurt*, the margin tells us signifies *shamed*, "We shamed them not," and it is used Jer. xiv. 3. to express a returning from a watering-place without water; and the word translated *missing*, is the passive of a verb which signifies to *visit*, and perhaps comes to signify missing, or wanting, from something being usually wanting where an Arab Emir had visited.

Some late authors have represented this address of David to Nabal as a very strange one, and made it one topic of defamation, as if he had the assurance to *press* Nabal for a supply of his wants, from his not having robbed or hurt his servants, for which he *could have no pretence*, and on the old man's declining it, resolving to cut his throat, and those of all his household. It would be an over-officious zeal to attempt to justify this design of David, when he himself condemned it, as he certainly did, when he *blessed God* for preventing him, by his providence, from avenging himself with his own hand, 1 Sam. xxv. 33,

33; but it is right to place every action in its true light, as far as possible, and David might certainly very gracefully remind Nabal, that though he was unjustly driven out from the inhabited parts of Judæa, and forced to live very much like the Arabs of the desert, and reduced to necessities equal to theirs, he did not imitate their rapaciousness, nor extorted the least thing from his servants when they were absolutely in his power, as the Arabs of the wilderness often did; when then in return to all this Nabal treated him with reproaches, it is *the less* to be wondered at, that he was wrought up to a rage that prompted him to think of imitating these Arabs among whom he was forced now to dwell, who thought themselves authorized to take from others what they wanted, and even *to kill* those that resisted, *which is what they do this day*⁶. The law of God had hitherto restrained him from doing any thing of this kind, made him acknowledge the thought anger had inspired to be wrong, and engaged him to lay aside the bloody purpose: all this must be allowed to be agreeable; must a contrary thought, in the paroxysm of his anger, amidst Arab examples, and in a time of much less light and knowledge of the laws of morality than ours, be thought to be *absolutely* inconsistent with virtue?

⁶ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 182.

Some tribes of Arabs, however, it ought to be observed, are much less mischievous than others. Of those three tribes which stile themselves the defenders of the convent of Mount Sinai, in particular, we are told⁷, that that tribe which is the smallest, in point of number, is the most untractable and rapacious of all, making continual demands on the convent; that the second, which is more numerous, is less rapacious; and that the third is far more favourable still to the convent, *never* using those unjust methods so frequently practised by the first. It was necessary to make this remark before I closed this article, on account of some seeming inconsistency between this and the preceding Observation: an Arab dress, or a shepherd's garment, might be an effectual security as to *some* tribes; *others* might frequently tyrannize over those that fed their herds and flocks in the desert, though they were at the same time looked upon rather as confederates than enemies.

OBSERVATION XIII.

[In Arabia, and in other places, they are wont to *close and cover up* their wells of water, lest the sand, which is put into motion by the winds there, like the water of a pond, should fill them, and quite stop them up¹.

⁷ Egmont and Heyman, v. 2. p. 157. ¹ This and the following Observation make David's indulgence to Nabal's servants, appear very meritorious.

This is the account Sir J. Chardin gives us in his M S, in a note on Pf. lxix. 15. I very much question the applicableness of this custom to that passage, but it will serve to explain, I think, extremely well, the view of keeping that well covered with a stone from which Laban's sheep were wont to be watered; and their care not to leave it open *any time*, but to stay till the flocks were all gathered together, before they opened it, and then, having drawn as much water as was requisite, to cover it up again immediately, Gen. xxix. 2. 8.

Bishop Patrick supposed it was done to keep the water *clean and cool*. Few people, I imagine, will long hesitate, in determining which most probably was the view, in keeping the well covered with so much care.

All this care of their water is certainly very requisite, since they have so little: so little, that Chardin in another part of his M S. supposes, *that the strife between Abraham's herdmen and Lot's² was rather about water than pasturage*; and immediately after observes, *that when they are forced to draw the water for very large flocks out of one well, or two, it must take up a great deal of time*.

OBSERVATION XIV.

Sir John also gives us to understand, in the sixth Vol. of his M S, that he has known wells or cisterns of water *locked up* in the

² Gen. 13. 7.

East ; and if not, that some person is so far the proprietor, that no one dares to open a well or cistern, but in their presence. He has often, he says, seen them make use of such precautions, in divers parts of Asia, on account of the great scarcity of water there.

He applies this account to Jacob's watering *Rachel's flock*, Gen. xxix: supposing that Rachel had the *key* ; or that they dared not to open it but in her presence. This representation of matters seems much preferable to that of those, who suppose the stone was of such a weight as not to be moved, but by the joint strength of several shepherds, but that Jacob had strength or address sufficient to remove it *alone* ; or the supposing that he a *stranger* ventured to break a standing-rule for watering the flocks, which the *natives* did not dare to do, and this without *opposition*, or, so far as appears, so much as *contradiction* : the Eastern people were not wont to be so tame, see Gen. xix. 9.]

XI.

OBSERVATION XV.

If we should turn our thoughts to the strength of an Arab Emir, or the number of men they command, we shall find it is not very great, and that were Abraham now alive, and possessed of the same degree of strength that he had in his time, he would still be considered as a prince among them, and might, perhaps, even be called a *mighty* prince, he having three hundred and eigh-

teen servants able to bear arms (Gen. xiv. 14¹), especially in the Eastern *complimental* style: for this is much like the strength of those Arab Emirs of Palæstine d'Arvieux visited.

There were according to him eighteen Emirs or princes that governed the Arabs of Mount Carmel; the grand Emir, or chief of these princes, encamped in the middle, the rest round about him, at one or two leagues distance from him, and from each other; each of these Emirs had a number of Arabs particularly attached to him, who called themselves his servants, and were properly the troops each Emir commanded when they fought; and when all these divisions were united, they made up between four and five thousand fighting men¹. Had each of these Emirs been equal in strength to Abraham, their number of fighting men must have been near six thousand, for three hundred and eighteen, the number of his servants, multiplied by eighteen, the number of those Emirs, make five thousand seven hundred and twenty four; but they were but between four and five thousand, so that they had but about two hundred and fifty each, upon an average. Abraham then was superior in force to one of these Emirs.

The Arab clans are not, most certainly, equal in number: Egmont and Heyman ex-

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 103—108.

presly observe² that the three clans, defenders of the convent of Mount Sinai, differed from each other in *this* point, the second being more numerous than the first, and the third than the second; but it seems that they are *often* not more numerous than Abraham's family was. *Several Arabian tribes can bring no more than three or four hundred horses into the field*, Dr. Shaw says³: so that it is no wonder that Abraham was considered in *ancient days* as a considerable prince, at the head of a powerful clan; should have his alliance courted (Gen. xxi. 22); and make war in his own name. Aner, Eshcol, and Mamrè, his confederates, were, I suppose, neighbouring Emirs at the head of considerable clans also, with whom Abraham was leagued, and who made up together a formidable power in those times.

Heber the Kenite, in the time of the Judges, appears to have been in like manner a powerful Emir, but separated on some account or other from the rest of the Emirs of his nation, as the Arab princes of these times frequently have great misunderstandings with each other, and are divided by separate interests. And if the Grand Seignior, powerful as he is, courts the modern Arab Emirs, as we know he does, it can be no wonder that such a prince as Jabin, when

² See the last citation from those Travels. ³ P. 169.
And such a clan, according to him there, possesses frequently as large a number of cattle as Job was master of.

he distressed Israel, chose to continue in peace with Heber, who, living in tents, was more able to elude the vexations of Jabin on the one hand, and to perplex him on the other; nay it is not impossible that his detaching himself from the rest of the Kenites might be owing to the intrigues of Jabin, as the present misunderstandings of the Arab clans are frequently caused by the artifices of the Turks.

But though Abraham was a man of power, and did upon occasion make war, yet I hope a remark I before made concerning him will be remembered here, that is, that he was a pacific Emir notwithstanding, at least, that he by no means resembled the modern Arabs in their *depredations* and violences.

OBSERVATION XVI.

XII.

In the smallness of their clans, and in their terribleness to those of a more settled kind of life, there is some resemblance between the Arabs and the Indians of North-America; shall we therefore suppose there is a conformity between the Emirs of the one and the Sachems of the other, as to *slovenliness* in the way of living?

The Journal of the Prefetto of the missionaries de propaganda fide, published by the late Bishop of Clogher, seems to suppose this, which has given me, I confess, a good deal

of offence: for speaking of the tents of the Arabs, the Journal says¹, “ They are subdivided into three apartments; in the most retired of which the women have their residence; in the middle some of the men and women live promiscuously; and in the outermost are kept all the *beasts and cattle* of the field, the *cocks and hens and goats*. Which seemed to me to be a *lively representation of the manner of habitation practised by the ancient Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.*” Did *they* then and their cattle and their poultry all live together in the same tent? one would imagine the Prefetto meant so, when he said this wretched way of living, of the vulgar Arabs, seemed to him a *lively* representation of that of the Patriarchs; but it cannot be just, since we know from their history that Sarah *had a tent to herself*, which Rebekah afterwards had for her *separate use*, Gen. xxiv. 67.

The way of living of the Patriarchs may be much more truly learnt from d’Arvieux’s account of the Arabs, who tells us indeed, that among the Arabs the *men and cattle* lodge together in the winter-time, on account of *warmth*, for which reason they encamp in vallies, or on the sea shore, upon the sand, in order to avoid the inconvenience of *mire*²; but then, though the common Arabs live after this inelegant manner, especially in the winter, he informeth us that their Emirs or

¹ P. 8.

² Voy. dans la Pal. p. 175.

princes live very differently, that they have *always* two tents, one for themselves, the other for their *wives*, besides a number of small ones for their domestics, together with a tent of audience. How different a picture of the Arabs does this give us! Is it not much more reasonable to *suppose* that the accommodations of an Emir of these times, such as la Roque gives us an account of from d'Arvieux, is a representation of the way of living of the Patriarchs, who were treated as princes by the people of those countries, than the tent of a vulgar Arab?

As to a *separate tent* for their wives, we are *sure* it is; and probably the same may be said as to the other accommodations of the Arab Emirs, which are very different (according to d'Arvieux) in Palæstine, from those of the ordinary people of that nation, at least if we make some abatements for the earliness of the time in which the Patriarchs lived. The *common* Arabs according to him have only some mats on which they lie³, and some coverlets; seldom any cushion, a stone serving them for a bolster: but their princes are much better furnished, they have quilts, carpets, coverlets of all sorts, and some very

³ [Sir J. Chardin in his sixth MS. gives a somewhat different account: for having said that *their tents are in common black, made of goats hair, and pretty high*, he adds, *that they are adorned below, to the height of four feet, with mats made of reeds*. Whether he is exact here, or not, I am not able to say, but the original word is *roseaux*, that is, *reeds*.]

beautiful, stitched with gold and silk, and others woven and embroidered with flowers of gold and silver like those of the Turks, and extremely handsome; they sow fine white sheets to the coverlets, and have others striped with several colours to put underneath, &c⁴. Sanctius seems to have thought it incredible that there should be any elegance in Arab tents⁵, but d'Arvieux, an eye-witness, gives a very different account.

After all, I believe this passage of the Prefetto's was merely owing to inattention, and no ways designed to lessen the honour of those progenitors of the Israelitish nation; but, as it is *monstrously* inaccurate, I could not pass it by in silence.

XIII.

OBSERVATION XVII.

I have supposed that Abraham lived with all the elegance of a modern Arab Emir, or at least with no other abatements than what arose from his great antiquity, and I think with reason, since I have shewn that he had a distinct tent for Sarah, which is one great difference at present; and find it expressly said that Abraham was *very rich* in *silver* and in *gold*, as well as in cattle, Gen. xiii. 2, and consequently he was able to procure the *ancient* elegancies of his way of life, as well

⁴ P. 176, 177. ⁵ Vide Poli Syn. in Cant. 1. 5. Quis credat tabernacula Cedar pulchra fuisse, quæ inhabitabant pastores, genus hominum incultum & agreste?

as the modern Arab princes are theirs. This, perhaps, we may think strange, and may have imagined, as the Prefetto seems to have done, that Abraham lived in a *sordid plenty*: abundance of food by means of his flocks and herds, but unattended with silver or gold, and the elegancies that generally go along with *them*. If we did, it was certainly very erroneously.

Authors have sufficiently explained how these acquisitions might be made. So Dr. Russell tells us, that the people of Aleppo are supplied with the greater part of their butter, their cheese, and their cattle for slaughter, by the Arabs, Ruthwans, or Turkmen, who travel about the country with their flocks and their herds as the Patriarchs did of old¹. The Patriarchs doubtless supplied the ancient cities of Canaan, in like manner, with these things. Hamor expressly speaks of their *trading* with his people, Gen. xxxiv. 21.

At the same time that the Arabs receive money for their commodities, their expences are very small, so that their princes are rich in silver and gold as well as cattle, and amass large quantities of these precious metals; infomuch that la Roque remarks, that in the time of Pliny, the riches both of the Parthians and Romans were in a manner melted down among the Arabs, to use that expression, they turning every thing

¹ P. 53.

into

into money, without parting with any of it² again.

Abraham's expences, like those of the Arabs, by no means equalled his profits, he was therefore continually making acquisitions of money current with the merchant, Gen. xxiii. 16; or of such precious commodities as were easy of carriage, and suited his way of life. And more especially might he do this in Ægypt, where, as being a rich country, his exchanging his cattle might be more advantageous to him than usual. For which reason, perhaps, his being rich in silver and gold is mentioned immediately after his return from thence.

[To these accounts may be added, that given us in the sixth volume of the M S. papers of Sir J. Chardin, and it is so curious that I cannot but here insert it. After having remarked in general, that they that travel in the East will now often see a picture of the Patriarchal history, he goes on to inform us, *that their cattle are all their riches, and engage all their attention, particularly their flocks of sheep and goats, for they are not so much concerned about camels, horses, and asses, though they have them in great numbers (as well as oxen,) for the carriage of their portable cities, as they call their tents, which are in common black, and made of goats hair. As to their manner of living, what is said Gen. xiii. 2,* (“*Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and*

² Voy. dans la Pal. p. 157. dans la note.

“ in gold,”) ought not to give us any pain, for these powerful shepherds are able to gather much together by the sale of their cattle, butter, milk and its dependencies, which their goats produce, (for in the East the greatest part of the butter is made of goats and sheeps milk,) and of the wool of their flocks, and of what they manufacture from it: they sell all these things in the neighbouring towns; and as for themselves, they spend very little, their flocks support them, and the land, of which they cultivate as much as they have occasion for.

I have seen in Persia and in Turkey, where the country is full of these Turkmen, their chiefs going along with a great train, very well clothed, and very well mounted. I saw one between Parthia and Hyrcania, whose train surprized and alarmed me. He had more than ten led-horses, all their harness of solid gold and silver. He was accompanied by many shepherds on horseback, and well-armed. Their rustic mein and tanned complexions caused me at first to take them for robbers; but I was soon undeceived. They treated me civilly, and answered all the questions my curiosity prompted me to put to them, upon their manner and way of life. The whole country, for ten leagues, was full of flocks that belonged to them. An hour after I saw his wives, and those of the principal of his attendants, passing along in a row. There were four in cavaehs, these are great square cunes³, carried two upon a camel, which were not close

³ See an Observation in chap. 5.

covered.

covered. The rest were on camels, on asses, and on horseback; most of them with their faces unveiled; I saw some very beautiful women among them.

This account is an agreeable addition to this observation, and gives us some particulars that might be introduced in other places of this book; but my reader will remember them, without citing this account afresh there.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

The same M S. gives us an astonishing account of the *numerousness* of some of these flocks, soon after the preceding citation, as well as mentions the *different colours* of their sheep.

*It is a wonderful thing to see these Turkmen pass, when they go from one country to another. They are sometimes three or four days in passing. I saw a clan of them pass along two days distance from Aleppo. The whole country was covered by them. Many of their principal people, whom I spoke to on the road, assured me that there were four hundred thousand beasts of carriage, camels, horses, asses, oxen and cows, and three millions of sheep and goats*¹. The number, if their account was to be depended

¹ In the original it is three millions, des bestes a corne (horned cattle). By that term we indeed commonly mean neat beasts, but as he had mentioned before oxen and cows, and elsewhere tells us, they have most sheep and goats, he evidently means them.

upon,

upon, is truly amazing to us Europeans; but upon comparing these numbers with Dr. Shaw's account ² of the Barbary flocks and herds, they will not appear at all incredible.

Their sheep are *not all of one colour*, it seems, for speaking, in the same page, of the two famous princely races, distinguished from each other by the appellations of the black sheep, and the white sheep, he tells us, they were originally shepherds, though afterwards possessed of considerable territories, and that *they distinguished these two families by these appellations, because all the cattle with white wool were taken by one family, and the other had the rest, by an agreement very like that made between Jacob and Laban, mentioned in the 30th of Genesis*. I do not remember that d'Herbelot, who mentions these two houses frequently, has any where given us so clear an account of the reason of these names of distinction; which is a circumstance however that deserves to be taken notice of, as it shows a very considerable number of modern eastern sheep are not white, since the family of the black sheep was willing to accept them, as (along with other cattle) not an improper portion for them in dividing their substance.

OBSERVATION XIX.

The manner in which the Arabs harrafs the *caravans* of the East, is described in the

² P. 169.

same page. He tells us there, that *the manner of their making war, and pillaging the caravans is, to keep by the side of them, or to follow them in the rear, nearer or farther off according to their forces, which it is very easy to do in Arabia, which is one great plain, and in the night they silently fall upon the camp, and carry off one part of it before the rest are got under arms.*

He supposes that Abraham fell upon the camp of the four Kings, that had carried away Lot, precisely in the same *Arab* manner, and by that means, with unequal forces, accomplished his design, and rescued Lot. Gen. xiv. 15, he thinks, shews this; and he adds, that it is to be remembered, that the combats of the age of Abraham more resembled a fight among the mob, than the bloody and destructive wars of Europe.

OBSERVATION XX.

Prepared as the Arabs are for speedy flight, a quick motion is very destructive to the young of their flocks.

A passage of the same part of that M S. proves this, and at the same time shews the energy of those words of Jacob's apology to his brother Esau, for not attending him. "The flocks and herds with young, are with me, and if men should over-drive them one day, all the flock will die," Gen. xxxiii. 13. *Their flocks*, says Sir John, speaking

ing of those who now live in the East after the Patriarchal manner, *feed down the places of their encampments so quick, by the great numbers which they have, that they are obliged to remove them too often, which is very destructive to their flocks, on account of the young ones, which have not strength enough to follow.*]

OBSERVATION XXI.

XIV.

Besides the mats and the coverlets of the common Arab tents, which I took notice of under a preceding observation, la Roque mentions ¹ hair-sacks, and trunks and baskets covered with skin, to put up and carry their things in; which are kettles or pots, great wooden ² bowls, hand-mills, and pitchers. With these they content themselves, and they are all their furniture in common, or nearly so.

I mention them distinctly, because this account seems to me to explain, in a clearer manner than commentators have done, (who are

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 176. and p. 178.

² The French word is *Gamelles*, which the English translator supposes signified close *wicker baskets*, but as this word is used by this same author for the *vessel into which they pour their soup*, p. 199, something of a very different nature *must* be intended by it; and as *wooden bowls* are particularly mentioned with their pot and kettle by other travellers, (see Shaw p. 231,) and are indeed quite necessary to them, one would have been induced to believe that la Roque meant them, had he not so explained himself, in p. 204, as that this translator *there* renders the passage, “Three or four piggins, or great wooden bowls.”

indeed

deed in a manner silent upon those texts,) the passages which describe the furniture of the habitations of Israel in the wilderness. “ Upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean,” (Lev. xi. 32, 33,) “ whether it be any vessel of wood,” their wooden bowls, that is, according to this representation of the utensils of those that live in tents, to which there is reason to believe those of the Israelites were like, who lived so many years like Arabs in the wilderness; “ or raiment, or skin,” any trunks or baskets covered with skins, that is; “ or sack,” any hair-cloth sack used for the better carrying goods from place to place; “ whatsoever vessel it be, wherein any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the evening; so it shall be cleansed. And every earthen vessel,” the pitchers used for holding liquids, and drinking out of, “ whereinto any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean, and ye shall break it.”

The account of la Roque then may serve for an amusing explanation of these passages; and I believe will be allowed to be a more natural illustration of them than that of the Rabbies³, who suppose that the work of goats—which our translators determine to mean goats-hair, implieth instruments made of the horns, and hoofs, and bones of goats, few or no such instruments being to be found

³ See Ainsworth upon these passages.

among those that now dwell in tents. There is the like agreeable simplicity in explaining the *vessels of wood* of their *wooden bowls*, instead of reckoning up all the particular things that were afterwards made of *wood* in the *most remote sense* of the word, as Maimonides has done, who introduces the mention of vessels of *bushes*, of *reed*, of the *shells* of nuts, and the *bark* of trees. Things that were not in use, there is reason to think, in these migratory families, and consequently not *immediately* referred to by Moses; and if so, not coming under the observation of a *commentator*, however they may with propriety enough engage the attention of a *Jewish casuist*.

[But though the bowls and dishes of the *vulgar* Arabs are of *wood*, those of their Emirs are, not unfrequently, of *copper tinned very neatly*: la Roque takes notice of this circumstance in more places than one⁴. I have met with a like account, I think, in other travellers. May we not believe that the vessel which Jael made use of, to present butter-milk to Sisera, and which Deborah in her hymn calls a *lordly dish*⁵, or a dish of *nobles*, was of this sort? Her husband certainly was an Arab *Emir*; the working of metals much *more ancient* than her time, Gen. iv. 22; and the *mere size* of the vessel hardly could be the thing intended. La

⁴ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 178, and p. 24. ⁵ Judges 5. 25.

Roque indeed tells us ⁶, that the fruits that were brought in at the collation, that the grand Emir of the Arabs whom he visited treated him with, were placed in a large *painted* bafon of wood : it's being painted was, without doubt, a mark of honour fet on this vefsel of the grand Emir, which diftinguifhed it from the wooden bowls of the commonalty ; but a *painted* wooden vefsel would have been not fo proper for butter-milk, as one of copper tinned, which therefore moft probably was the fort Jael made ufe of.]

XV.

OBSERVATION XXII.

The preceding lift of Arab utenfils is not complete however, as I infinuated under the laft Obfervation, *leather-bottles* not being mentioned by la Roque, in thofe places where he profefles to give us an account of the furniture of an Arab tent, which yet they certainly have, and out of which he himfelf elfewhere ¹ tells us they drink, when a pitcher is not at hand.

Thefe are very uncouth *drinking-veffels* in comparifon of *cups of filver or gold*, fuch as were anciently ufed in the courts of princes, agreeable to what we read in the 1 Kings x. 21, where we are told the magnificence of Solomon fuffered no drinking veffels, in his palace, that were not of gold, none of filver, it being nothing accounted of in his days ;

⁶ P. 11, 12.¹ P. 205.

whereas

whereas it should seem in the preceding reigns cups of silver, as well as of gold, were used in the royal houses. And to the difference betwixt these vessels of silver or of gold, and these goat-skin bottles, the Psalmist seems to refer when he saith, “ I am become like a bottle in the smoke,” Pf. cxix. 83—
My appearance in my present state is as different from what it was when I dwelt at court, as the furniture of a palace differs from that of a poor Arab's tent, among whom I now dwell. Just thus the Prophet laments that the precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold, or vessels of fine gold, sunk in their estimation, and were considered as no better than earthern pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter, Lam. iv. 2.

Our translators, by the place ² they have marked in the margin of some of our Bibles, as parallel to this, seem to have supposed that the Psalmist refers to the *blackness* his face contracted by sorrow; but this can hardly be supposed to be the whole of his thought: in such a case would he not rather have spoken of the *blackness of a pot*, as it is supposed the Prophet Joel doth, ch. ii. 6, rather than that of a *leather-bottle*?

[These bottles are supposed by a sacred historian, not only to be frequently *rent*, when grown *old and much used*, but also to be *capable of being repaired*, Josh. ix. 4, wine-bottles old, and *rent*, and *bound up*.

² Job 30. 30.

Sir J. Chardin in a note informs us, this is perfectly according to the custom of the East. And he describes the manner in which they are mended : they do it, he says, *sometimes by setting in a piece ; sometimes by gathering up the wounded place, in manner of a purse ; sometimes they put in a round flat piece of wood, and by that means stop the hole.*

In the sixth volume of his M S. he has given us, at large, an *amusing* account of these bottles, which therefore I would here set down. After observing that the bottle given to Hagar was a leather one, he goes on thus : *The Arabs, and all those that lead a wandering kind of life, keep their water, milk, and other liquors, in these bottles. They keep in them more fresh than otherwise they would do. These leather-bottles are made of goat-skins. When the animal is killed, they cut off its feet and its head, and they draw it in this manner out of the skin, without opening its belly. They afterwards sew up the places where the legs were cut off, and the tail, and when it is filled, they tie it about the neck. These nations, and the country people of Persia, never go a journey without a small leather bottle of water hanging by their side like a scrip. The great leather-bottles are made of the skin of an he-goat, and the small ones, that serve instead of a bottle of water on the road, are made of a kid's skin. Mons. Dandilly for want of observing this, in his beautiful translation of Josephus, has put goat-skin in the chapter of Hagar and Ishmael, instead of a kid-skin bottle,*

tle, which, for the reasons assigned above, must have been meant.

He reassumes the subject in another part of the same volume ³, in which he tells us, that they put into these goat-skin and kid-skin vessels every thing which they want to carry to a distance in the East, whether dry or liquid, and very rarely make use of boxes and pots, unless it be to preserve such things as are liable to be broken. The reason is, their making use of beasts of carriage for conveying these things, who often fall down under their loading, or throw it down, and also because it is in pretty thin woollen sacks that they inclose what they carry. There is another advantage too in putting the necessaries of life into these skin vessels, they are preserved fresher; the ants and other insects cannot make their way to them; nor the dust get in, of which there are such quantities in the hot countries of Asia, and so fine, that there is no such thing as a coffer impenetrable to it: therefore it is that butter, honey, cheese, and other like aliments are inclosed in vessels made of the skins of this species of animals.

According to this, the things that were carried to Joseph, for a present, were probably inclosed in little vessels made of kid-skins, not only the balm and the honey, which were somewhat liquid; but the nuts and the almonds too, that they might be preserved fresh, and the whole put into slight woollen sacks.]

³ On Gen. 43. 11.

I have been supposing that the tent of a *common Arab* is a very *smoky* habitation, when I have considered the expression of *a bottle in the smoke*, as equivalent to that of *a bottle in the tent of an Arab*; and in truth their dwellings must be very much incommoded with *smoke*, since they make *fires* in them.

So there was a *fire*, we find, in that Arab tent to which Bishop Pococke was conducted, when he was going to Jerufalem¹. How smoky must such an habitation be, and how black all its utensils! Le Bruyn in going from Aleppo to Scanderoon, was made sufficiently sensible of this: for being obliged to pass a whole night in an hut of reeds, in the middle of which there was a fire, to boil a kettle of meat that hung over it, and to bake some bread among the ashes, he found the smoke intolerable, the door being the only place by which it could get out of the hut.

To the *blackness* of a goat-skin bottle in a tent, but to the *meanness* also of such a drinking-vessel, the Psalmist seems to refer, and it was a most natural image for him to make use of, driven from among the vessels of silver and gold in the palace of Saul, to live as the Arabs do and did, and consequently often obliged to drink out of a smoked leather-bottle.

¹ Vol. 2. p. 5.

If this be a just representation of the tents of the Arabs, I doubt our translators will be thought not to have been very happy in their version, when they call the tents of the Arabs their *palaces*, Ezek. xxv. 4, whatever the true sense of the original word may be.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

XVII.

If a survey of them as to their *insides* will not presently induce us to call them palaces, so neither will their *outsides*, I imagine, produce that effect, being such *hair-cloth as our coal-sacks are made of*¹.

I have therefore often wondered that Dr. Shaw should consider them as affording a *delightful* prospect, and more that he should suppose Solomon considered them as *comely*, as well as *black*, in Cant. i. 5, when the turn of the words leads us rather to suppose, that he meant to make the bride say, she was *black* as the tents of Kedar, or of the Arabs; but *comely* however as those of Solomon.

I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the tents of Solomon; at present I would observe the force of the comparison when he likens her, on the account of her *blackness*, to the *tents of the Arabs*.

And as I have observed several faults here, besides omissions, this article must consist of several particulars. It has been said their

¹ Shaw p. 220.

tents are made of *skins* instead of hair; it has been supposed that their *blackness* is *adventitious*, and owing to the sun and rain; as well as that they have a *beautiful* appearance: on the other hand, it has not been observed, I think, as it ought, that the tents of the Arabs are with great *universality* black; and that the tents of others are *commonly* of another colour; particulars that are requisite to be remarked in order to enter into the *full* force of the comparison.

Some Jewish writers referred to by Mercer², Bishop Patrick in his commentary, &c, suppose their tents are composed of skins; nor does it do any honour to the accuracy of Egmont's and Heyman's book of travels, that it affirms also, that Arab tents are made of goat-*skins*, as it doth in two places³; whereas d'Arvieux tells us, they are made of hair-cloth, which the women weave⁴; and Dr. Shaw affirms, they are of the same sort of hair-cloth of which our coal-sacks are made; and so many other authors have confirmed their account that no doubt can be made of it⁵.

Mercer, and others⁶, have supposed their blackness is *adventitious*, and occasioned by the sun and the rain, upon what grounds I do not know, for their goats are in common

² Vide Poli Syn. in loc. ³ Vol. I. p. 302. and p. 373. ⁴ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 173. ⁵ It is allowed elsewhere by Bishop Patrick *himself*. ⁶ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

naturally

naturally black : and therefore as the *brown* among Laban's sheep were appointed to be Jacob's hire, because they were *much less common* ; so for the same reason were the *spotted and speckled among the goats*, they being in *common* black. The spouse compares herself to one of the Arab tents on account of the *tint of her skin*, but it is introducing a thought she never designed, when it is supposed they both arose from the *same cause*, the scorching of the sun.

Not only have authors that never saw an Arab tent supposed they were the reverse of beautiful, but Thevenot⁷, who saw many of them, gives us to understand he thought them *ugly* ; and they that attend to that circumstance of their being made of the same materials with our coal-sacks, will wonder at Dr. Shaw's taste⁸, who seems to have thought them very pleasing to the eye.

The Arabs make use of *black* tents with great *universality*. D' Arvieux, describing their tents, expressly says, they are *all* black⁹. All other authors, I think, suppose this, that speak of the colour of their tents at all.

⁷ See Thevenot, part 1. p. 173. Egmont and Heyman⁹ Vol. 2. p. 155. ⁸ P. 220. ⁹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 173. Fulcherius Carnotensis describes the tents of the enemies of king Baldwin as white, and calls these enemies, Arabs and Saracens ; but it appears evidently, that he doth not design by those terms, Arabs in the sense in which we have used the term in this article, Bedouin Arabs, that is, but he means Ægyptians and the Moorish inhabitants of Aſcalon. Vide Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 411, &c.

Some other nations live in tents of black goat's-hair, in other countries, as well as the Arabs, so Thevenot says, the *Curds* of Mesopotamia do, but it is not common; other nations generally live in booths, or huts of reeds or boughs, or other materials, for there is a great variety in the descriptions that travellers have given us of these habitations. Or, if in tents, they make use of other colours in general: so d'Arvieux gives us an account of another nation that lives in the Holy-Land, in tents as the Arabs do, but their tents are of *white linen-cloth*; they are called Turkmen, obey the Grand Seignior, are neat in their camp, and lay in good beds; they are more parsimonious than the Arabs as to their eating, but are better clothed than they; they do not spoil passengers as the Arabs do, but are very hospitable, and give meat and lodging to all travellers that apply to them, without charging them any thing¹⁰. As for the Turks, when they encamp, as they sometimes do, the tents they make use of are *green*¹¹. So then the tents of the Arabs are *universally black*, and scarce any make use of them *but they*; the other nation in particular that live in tents in the Holy-Land, as they do, dwelling in tents of *white linen*. I am black, not as a tent, for they were often of other colours, but as the tents of *Kedar*, which were universally of this hue.

¹⁰ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 99, 100.

¹¹ Pococke's Tra-

vels into the East, Vol. 2. p. 115.

Black goats-hair tents may very probably have been *generally used* in the most ancient times, since the Arabs *retain the most ancient customs*¹²; the present distinction however appears by this passage to have been as ancient as the days of Solomon. So curtains of goats-hair were directed for the Tabernacle, and the Israelitish women appear to have been very well acquainted with the manner of spinning it; from whence we may naturally conjecture, that the tents of the Patriarchs, and those Israel might use in Ægypt, as well as in the wilderness, were of the *same fabric*.

Moral interpreters have supposed, that the spouse represents herself as black, and disagreeable, as to her *outward* aspect, but possessed of *internal* qualifications lovely as the tents of Solomon. What the precise intention of the sacred writer might be, I will not take upon me to say; but it is certain, that the *face* may be discoloured by the sun, and yet possess an exquisite gracefulness: so Mr. Wood, the elegant editor of the Ruins of Palmyra observes, that the Arab women,

[¹² We are not however to suppose the living in tents was prior to the dwelling in houses, the comparing Gen. 4. 20, with the 17th verse of that chapter, would lead us into a contrary opinion. *Cain* one of the immediate descendants of Adam built a city; but it was not 'till the days of *Jabal*, who was of the seventh generation from Adam, that dwelling in tents, and removing from place to place with cattle came into use: *he was the father of such*, the first that practised this flitting way of living, which others have since followed, particularly the Bedouin Arabs. This is a remark of Sir J. Chardin's, in his manuscript.]

whom he saw at that place, were well-shaped, and though *very swarthy*, yet had *good features*¹³; and of Zenobia, the celebrated queen of that city in the days of antiquity, he says, she was reckoned an extraordinary beauty, and that the description we have of her person answers that character—Her complexion of a dark brown (, a necessary consequence of her way of life in that climate); her eyes black and sparkling, and of an uncommon fire; her countenance divinely spritely; her person graceful and genteel beyond imagination; her teeth white as pearl; and her voice clear and strong¹⁴. It is very possible then to be black, and at the same time comely as to what is *visible*, without having recourse to *moral qualities*; and I confess I could not forbear thinking of this passage of the Canticles, the moment I read this description of Zenobia.

A passage of d'Arvieux¹⁵ will account for that surprize, which she supposes the daughters of Jerufalem would notwithstanding feel, upon seeing the swarthinens of her a royal lover had chosen for his spouse, as it shews the attention usually paid by the great men of the East to the complexion of their wives, as well as the great *tanning power* of the sun in Palæstine. “ The princesses, and the
“ other Arab ladies, whom they shewed me
“ from a private place of the tent, appeared

¹³ Ruins of Palmyra, p. 37.
dans la Pal. p. 214.

¹⁴ P. 8.

¹⁵ Voy.

“ to me beautiful, and well-shaped ; one
 “ may judge by these, and by what they
 “ told me of them, that the rest are no less
 “ so ; they are *very fair*, because they are
 “ *always kept from the sun*. The women in
 “ common are *extremely sun-burnt*, besides
 “ the brown and swarthy colour which they
 “ naturally have, &c.” ¹⁶ Naturally he says,
 though this most permanent swarthiness must
 arise from the same cause with that tempo-
 rary tanning he speaks of, or otherwise the
 Arab princesses would have been swarthy,
 though not sun-burnt, (being natives of the
 country,) which yet, he affirms, they were
 not.

[It is on this account, without doubt, that
 the prophet Jeremiah, when he would de-
 scribe a *comely* woman, describes her by the
 character of one that *dwelleth at home* ¹⁷. The
 delicate, and those that are solicitous to pre-
 serve their beauty, go very little abroad : it
 seems it was so anciently, and therefore the
 prophet uses a term to express a woman of
 beauty, which would not be very applicable
 to many British fine ladies.]

OBSERVATION XXV.

XVIII.

But ordinary as these dwellings are, the
 common Arabs so far observe the modes of
 the East, as to have a separate apartment in

¹⁶ Dr. Russell has made the like remark, p. 78. ¹⁷ Jer.
 6. 2, according to the margin.

them for their wives, made by letting down a curtain or a carpet, upon occasion, from one of the pillars of their tents¹; though they are not so rigid as some other of the Eastern people are in these matters, as appears by Dr. Pococke's account of the manner in which he was treated, in an Arab tent, in his journey to Jerusalem. His conductor, who was an Arab, led him, he tells us, two or three miles to his tent, which was not much out of the road, and where there was an encampment of Arabs; and that there he sat with *his wife*, and others, round a fire, "For," says he, "the Arabs
 " are not so scrupulous as the Turks about
 " their women, and though they have their
 " *Harem*, or women's part of the tent, yet
 " *such as they are acquainted with* come into
 " them;—I was kept in the Harem for
 " *greater security*, the wife being always with
 " me, *no stranger* ever daring to come into
 " the woman's apartment, unless they are
 " introduced. Several women came to look
 " at me, and some men²."

It was not absurd then in Sifera, according to the custom of the present Arabs, to hope he might be received into Jael's tent, the Harem of Heber; it appears too that her tent was a much safer place than any other, in that encampment, as the violating it would be the greater insult to this Kenite-

¹ Shaw p. 221.

² Vol. 2. p. 5.

Emir. Nothing can be a better comment on Judges iv. 17, 18, 20, than this story.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

[Shut up as many of the Eastern women are, those of *some other tribes* of them still continue to feed *sheep* and other cattle.

The daughters of the Turkmen of Syria do this, according to d'Arvieux³, in which point he supposes they differ from the Arabs; this is confirmed by Consul Drummond, in general, only calling all, that live in that country a wandering life under tents, *Arabs*, he speaks of *Arab* women as tending cattle⁴. “Being very thirsty,” says this writer, speaking of a journey from Scanderoon to Aleppo, “I halted at a well, where I saw a great
“number of cattle attended by some well-
“shaped, though ugly, *Arabian girls*, whose
“nostrils were adorned with rings; they
“were good-natured enough to water me
“along with their beasts.”]

OBSERVATION XXVII.

XIX.

Besides those that live *wholly* in tents, numbers of the Eastern people spend *part of the year* in them.

I have observed it particularly in the accounts of *Mesopotamia*. In that country Bishop Pococke tells us, he fell in with a *summer-village* of country people, whose huts

³ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 230.

⁴ P. 183.

were

were made of loose stones covered with reeds and boughs; their winter-village being on the side of an hill at some distance, consisting of very low houses: and that they chose this place for the convenience of being with their cattle, and out of the high-road⁵. Five pages after he observes, that many of the Curdeens live honestly in Mesopotamia as well as Syria, removing *in summer* to some places at a distance from their village, where they live under *tents*, generally in places retired from the road, to avoid the injuries of the soldiery, and of the people of the Pasha.

May not this circumstance serve to explain a passage of the Old Testament, relating to *this country*? In Gen. xxxi. it is said, that Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to his flock, that he there told them of his design of returning from *Mesopotamia* to his native country, and that, upon their consenting to go with him, he set out upon this journey so silently, that Laban had no notice of it, until the third day after; yet it appears, that he had all his effects with him, and *tents* for the accommodation of his family; and that Laban who pursued him had *tents* also for his company.

Here one is surprized to find both parties so suddenly equipped with tents for their accommodation in travelling, and is naturally led to enquire, why Jacob sent for his wives to his flock. Bishop Patrick's account

⁵ V. 2. p. 158.

of the last circumstance, that it was for greater secrecy, and perhaps to avoid the danger of being seized upon by Laban and his sons, will hardly be thought satisfactory. Could not an husband speak to his wives with sufficient privacy in Laban's house? Were matters come to such an extremity, that Jacob durst not venture himself within the doors of his uncle's house, for fear of being seized upon, and made a prisoner? And in fact, Jacob seems actually to have communicated his intention to Rachel in her father's house: for when he sent for his wives, she brought her father's Teraphim with her, which she would by no means have done, had she been unapprized of the design.

The case seems to have been thus. While Laban and his daughters dwelt in an *house*, they that tended the flocks had *tents* for their accommodation. Laban's flocks were in two parcels, one under the care of Jacob, the other committed to the care of Laban's sons, three days journey off; Jacob's own afterwards were also, for the same reason, probably at an equal distance. At the time of shearing sheep, it is reasonable to suppose, that more and better tents were erected for the reception and entertainment of their friends, it being a time of great feasting, 1 Sam. xxv. 4. 8. 36; to which they were wont to invite their friends, 2 Sam. xiii. 24; and the feasts being held at a distance from

their own houses, in the places where the sheep were fed, as appears from the passage last cited, and also from Gen. xxxviii. 12. Laban went then with his relations at the time of sheep-shearing to his flocks; Jacob at the same time shored his own sheep, and sent to his wives to come to the entertainment, with all those utensils that they had with them of his, which would be wanted, having before communicated his intention to Rachel his beloved wife. This was a fair pretence for the having all his household-stuff brought to him, which, according to the present Eastern mode, we may believe was very portable, beds not excepted; and having told Leah then his views, in the company of Rachel, and both assenting to go with him, he had every thing ready for his journey, and could decamp immediately, taking his flocks and herds along with him. Somebody, upon this, went to inform Laban of Jacob's withdrawment, who being at a considerable distance, did not receive the news 'till the third day.

This accounts at once, in the most simple and natural way, for Jacob's sending for his wives to his flock; for his being able to get his goods together without jealousy; and for his and his father-in-law's being furnished with tents for the journey.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

XX.

Nor do the country-people only *occasionally* make use of tents, persons of distinction use them also for pleasure.

I have had occasion, in making remarks on the weather, to take notice that the English merchants at Aleppo do, and it seems to be no more than a conformity to the customs of the Eastern people: for Dr. Pococke speaks ¹ of a pleasant place, not far from Aleppo, where he met an Aga who had a great entertainment there, accompanied with music, under tents. Maillet in like manner mentions tents as things of course, in an account he gives of an Ægyptian officer's taking the air with his lady, in the neighbourhood of Cairo ². What is more, the modern Eastern princes have frequently made use of them in the same way: So Sir John Chardin tells us ³, that Tahmas, the Persian monarch, used to spend the winter at Casbin, and to retire in the summer three or four leagues into the country, where he lived in tents at the foot of Mount Alouvent, in a place abounding with cool springs and pleasant shades; and that his successors lived after the same manner till the time of Abas the Great, who removed his court to Isfahan ⁴.

L 2

To

¹ Vol. 2. p. 146. ² Lett. 11. p. 120. ³ Travels p. 382. ⁴ [This same Gentleman, in his MS, supposes that we are to consider Deborah's dwelling under a palm-tree,

To which I would add, that Olearius, attending the ambassadors of Holstein-Gottorp, who were invited by a later Persian monarch to accompany him on a party of pleasure, for hunting, hawking, &c, found in an Armenian village many tents prepared for the reception of the company; which by the *variety of their colours*, and the *peculiar manner in which they were pitched*, made a most *agreeable appearance*⁵.

I should not have made this one of my Observations, had I not found that the learned made a difficulty of admitting that the curtains

tree, mentioned Judges 4.5, in the same light. If this is just, the swelling of the river Kishon, in such a manner as to destroy multitudes of the enemies of Israel, Judges 5. 20, 21, must be considered as a very extraordinary interposition of God: for this violence of that river, must have been occasioned, we have reason to think, by very heavy rains, and rain is not wont to fall in that country after *May*; though sometimes very copious showers have descended much later, la Roque mentions such an event, which I have had occasion to cite in the preceding chapter. The more unusual the event, the greater was the mercy. I leave it with my reader to determine how far what is said concerning the dwelling under a palm-tree, is a proof that this event happened out of the *usual rainy season*. It will be agreeable not to omit what Sir John observes farther concerning this living under palm-trees, in his note here: he tells us, people retire under these trees, because they live on their fruit; but he adds, that the *air there is bad*. I will only take the liberty to observe, that unless there is a very great alteration in Palæstine with respect to the palm-tree, it could not be from any regard to the fruit, that Deborah dwelt under one; for Dr. Shaw assures us, the palm-trees of the Holy-Land, very rarely, if ever, bring their fruit to maturity, p. 343.] ⁵ P. 731.

of Solomon, (Cant. i. 5,) signified the tents of Solomon; *for though*, says Ainsworth⁶, *curtains in other places signify tents, here they seem rather to mean the goodly hangings that were in his house, and about his bed. For Solomon dwelt not in tents, but builded him houses, Eccles. ii. 4, and one which was thirteen years in building, 1 Kings vii. 1.* But though he built palaces, and as a most peaceful prince⁷ seldom wanted tents for his accommodation in war, he that left *no pleasure untried*, may be allowed to have resided sometimes in them, pitched in summer-heats in some cool and delightful spot, like the first princes of the late royal race of Persia, or erected in other places, for his accommodation in hunting, like that more modern prince Olearius mentions.

On the other hand, though the doors of the East have *veils* hanging before them, and probably had anciently, since a veil was used in the temple as well as tabernacle; yet the Hebrew word *there* is not the same with that which in Cant. i. 3. is rendered curtains. And as to the goodly *hangings about his bed*, there is no reason in the world to imagine they *were* in use in Solomon's country, it is certain they *are* not now: " their beds consist of a mattrafs laid on the floor, and over this a sheet, (in winter a carpet; or some such woollen covering,) the other sheet being sewed to the quilt. A divan-cushion often serves for a bolster and pillow ;

⁶ Upon Cant. i. 5.

⁷ 1 Chron. 22. 9.

“ though some have a bolster and pillow as we have.” Such is Ruffell’s account of the beds of Aleppo⁸. Hanway’s account of those of Persia is just the same. Ainsworth then appears to have been much more versed in the eastern *languages* than in their *customs*, and is a striking proof, how much observations of the kind I am making are necessary to be accurate, though they relate to things *in themselves* of no great moment⁹. Agreeably to all this, the word translated curtains is no where used in the Old Testament but where a tent is expressly spoken of, excepting in Ps. civ. 2, and there Is. xl. 22, shews it is alluded to.

I will only add, that if Solomon used tents at all, we may be sure they were extremely magnificent, and might with great propriety be alluded to on account of their beauty.

⁸ P. 90. ⁹ [It ought however to be acknowledged here, that if Maillet may be depended upon, *curtains* are sometimes suspended over the beds, in times at least of great solemnity: for so he describes the bed in which Ibrahim Bey, the son of the Bashaw of Ægypt, was to lodge after his circumcision. “ An angel-bed,” he tells us, (by which term the French mean a bed without posts, and whose curtains are suspended in the air,) “ of crimson velvet was “ in the middle of one of the apartments. This bed was “ covered on the outside with Indian embroidery, lined “ with green satin, equally richly wrought. A fringe of “ gold, four fingers broad, ran round the *curtains*, which “ were tucked up with rubies and emeralds, &c.” Lett. 10. p. 75. But this was extraordinary; air, in common, is more desirable than such magnificence in these hot countries.]

OBSERVATION XXIX.

[Tents also appear to have been used on occasion of *religious solemnities*.

When Dr. Perry arrived at Siut, a large town near the Nile, about seventy leagues above Cairo, it was “ the first day of Biram ;
 “ and, going to the town, we found a *great*
 “ *many tents pitched*, and an innumerable
 “ concourse of people, without the town,
 “ to the south-west of it. These people were
 “ partly of *Siut*, and partly from the cir-
 “ cumjacent villages, who came thither to
 “ celebrate the happy day ¹.”

The moment I read this account, I recollected that passage of the book of Judges,
 “ They said, behold, there is a feast of the
 “ Lord yearly, in a place which is on the
 “ north-side of Bethel, on the *east-side of the*
 “ *highway* that goeth up from Bethel to
 “ Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah—
 “ Go, and lie in wait in the vineyards :
 “ and see, and behold, if the daughters of
 “ Shiloh come out to dance in dances,” &c.
 Chap. xxi. 19—21.

It was usual we see anciently for people to celebrate their festivals *out of their cities* : most probably then *tents* also were pitched for their convenience ; and virgins attended *from other towns*, though those of Shiloh might be most numerous ².

¹ P. 333. ² See more of dwelling in tents, in the time of religious solemnities, under an Observation belonging to the next Chapter.

OBSERVATION XXX.

If the black hair-cloth, used by the Arabs for their tents, has a *mean and a coarse* look, it however very effectually guards against rain; the *other coverings* therefore of the sacred tent of Moses, we have reason to believe, were appointed only for ornament.

Abundance of questions may be asked, relating to the structure of the Tabernacle, which it would be extremely difficult fully to answer. The delineations the learned have sometimes given us in their books differ oftentimes, I am afraid, from the pattern shewed Moses in the mount: this model Moses saw in a *divine vision*; their draughts, I doubt, are *visionary*, in many respects, in a very opposite sense.

What I have met with in travellers into the East may, perhaps, throw a little light on some things relating to the Tabernacle; I would therefore here set them down.

The common Arab tents have only a pole or two to support them in the middle, the eves being stretched out by cords, fastened to the ground by hooked wooden pins: this is Dr. Shaw's account¹. They have then, it seems, only one covering. But the tents of other Eastern people have sometimes a magnificent lining under the outside covering. So Egmont and Heyman tell us, in de-

¹ P. 221.

cribing the tents of the Grand Signior, pitched on a solemn occasion, that they were exceedingly splendid, and one of them lined with a rich silk stuff. This was exceeded by another, which, they were informed, cost twenty-five thousand piasters², which was made in Persia, and not finished in less than three or four years. The outside of this tent, they tell us, was not remarkable; but it was lined with a single piece made of camels hair, and beautifully decorated with festoons and sentences in their languages³. The curtains of the Tabernacle made of linen, blue, purple, scarlet, and cherubs, formed, probably, such an inward lining to that sacred tent.

Droll as a description Lady Montague gives of the eastern buffaloes is, it may teach us how agreeable the red ram-skins, which laid over the black goats-hair curtains, must, in that position, appear in their eyes. The buffaloes, which, she tells us, they use for the plough, are all black, with very short hair on their heads, their eyes extremely little and white, so that they look like devils. The country-people dye their tails, and the hair of their forehead red by way of ornament. To adorn these black animals, they dye some of them red; must not the red woolly ram-skins laid over a black covering appear, in like manner, very ornamental in ancient eastern eyes?

² Which, I think, is considerably more than three thousand pounds.

³ Vol. I. p. 212.

What is meant by what we translate *badger's skins*, and in what manner they were made use of, are points that want to be ascertained.

When it is further added, that the modern Arab *royal* tents have no other covering than the *common* black hair-cloth ⁴, it becomes extremely probable, that the tabernacle of Moses was the most magnificent tent that had ever at that time appeared in the world. Perhaps, it has not been equalled to this very day.]

XXI.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

Tents seem to be the most eligible habitations of these migratory families; however we find that the Eastern people frequently content themselves with *buts* or *booths*, when they dwell not in houses.

So Dr. Pococke describes ¹ the summer-habitations of *some* of the people of Mesopotamia, which I mentioned just now, as made of loose stones covered with reeds and boughs. He speaks also ² of some open huts, made of boughs, raised about three feet from the ground, which he found near St. John d'Acre, in which some Arabs lived. Other

⁴ Phil. Transf. Abr. Vol. 3. Account of a second voyage to Tadmor, October 13. D'Arvieux, indeed, tells us, that the tents of the Emir he visited, were distinguished from the rest by being of white cloth, Voy. dans la Pal. p. 175.

¹ Vol. 2. p. 158.

² P. 79, 80.

authors mention this way of living under booths also. They, it seems, are built of very different materials, according to Dr. Pococke, and in different forms in consequence, according, I suppose, to what they found for their purpose in the places in which they were.

These materials are of so perishing a nature, and trees, and reeds, and bushes, are so very scarce in some places, that one would wonder they should not all accommodate themselves with tents; but we find they do not *in fact*. Though therefore, without doubt, many of the Israelites in the wilderness had convenient tents, (for as their ancestors had been wont to live in tents, so many of them might live in Ægypt after the same manner, to which we must add their spoiling the Ægyptians,) yet we may believe *many* of them had no better habitations than booths, since the commemorating their way of living in the wilderness was to be by continuing such a number of days under *booths*, not under *tents*. It might indeed have been attended with some inconvenience to Israel, to have been required to furnish themselves universally with tents for the celebration of this feast, after they were settled in houses, but that would hardly have occasioned Moses to have directed them to make booths, if it would have spoiled the *liveliness* of the representation. But if there was a mixture of tents and booths, their living in booths was

was sufficient; and as they are a meaner, and less convenient sort of habitation than a tent, the living in these was rather to be directed, as a more affecting representation of the state of their forefathers.

And barren as that wilderness is in some places, we find it has several spots of trees³, sufficient for the making a slight sort of booths for numbers of people; to such sort of places they were without doubt conducted as much as might be, on account of their cattle, as well as to get materials for these tabernacles; and if in any of their journies numbers of them were obliged to lie in the open air, they might do it very safely, as Dr. Shaw experienced, who tells us⁴ in his journies betwixt Cairo and Mount Sinai, *the heavens were their covering every night; the sand with a carpet spread over it, their bed; and a change of raiment, made up into a bundle, their pillow. That in this situation they were every night wet to the skin by the copious dew that dropt upon them; though without the least danger (such is the excellency of this climate) of catching cold.* From the heat of the day the rocks also of this wild country might afford them shelter: the convenience of them being such, that we find Egmont and Heyman made use of it⁵, and in

³ Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 151, and again p. 152. ⁴ Pref. p. 11. ⁵ "During the heat of

"the day we rested under the shadow of a mountain," vol. 2. p. 154.

one place that they preferred it even to the shade of trees ⁶, when they were travelling in this very wilderness.

The description that Job gives, of some that were driven from the more cultivated parts of the country into the wilderness, may be illustrated, perhaps, by these circumstances. Job xxx. 5, 6, 7, “ They were
 “ driven forth from among men—to dwell
 “ in the *clefts* of the valleys, in *caves* of the
 “ earth, and in the *rocks*. Among the
 “ *bushes* they brayed, under the nettles,” or *thorns* as others translate the word, “ they
 “ were gathered together,” that is, under the *booths* they made to shelter themselves from the weather.

The booth of Jonah was not, as I suppose, of this kind; and as I think I can give farther light to that part of this story than I have met with in commentators, I shall here set down my remarks, though I am very unable to answer all the questions, relating to this subject, a curious enquirer would be disposed to ask.

“ So Jonah went out of the city, and sat
 “ on the *East-side* of the city, and there
 “ made him a *booth*, and sat under it in the
 “ shadow, ’till he might see what would
 “ become of the city. And the Lord God

⁶ “ This is a very pleasant valley, and full of trees.
 “ We, however, baited under the shadow of a mountain,
 “ the side of which was a little excavated. Here we found
 “ the names of several travellers who had baited here, p. 152.

“ prepared a *gourd*, and made it to come
 “ up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow
 “ over his head.” A worm the next morn-
 ing smote the gourd that it withered, “ and
 “ it came to pass when the sun did arise,
 “ that God prepared a vehement east-wind ;
 “ and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah,
 “ that he fainted, and wished in himself to
 “ die.” Jonah iv. 5—8. Did Jonah make
 himself a booth of boughs in which to wait
 the event of his prophecy, and did the gourd
 come up in one single night afterward ? So
 our version supposes, and so doth Lowth in
 his commentary. But if this had in reality
 been the case, one cannot easily conjecture
 why the coming up of the gourd should have
 given him such an exquisite pleasure, or its
 destruction so much pain, when he had his
 booth to shelter him, which he had before
 thought very sufficient.

By the description Thevenot gives of this
 country, who travelled in it, it should seem
 that the lands of the Mesopotamian side of
 the Tigris, opposite to where Niniveh stood,
 are *low*, for these lands are cultivated and
 watered by means of little ditches into which
 the water is poured out of the river⁷; con-
 sequently it might be, and probably was,
 for the sake of the view he might have of
 the city, that Jonah placed himself on the
East-side of Nineveh, rather than on the
 west in Mesopotamia, towards his own coun-

⁷ Part 2. p. 50. 56.

try, and not as Lowth imagines, the better to escape the pursuit of the Ninevites in case they should follow him to take him: there is not the least ground to imagine Jonah had any such jealousy.

The side of Mesopotamia, Thevenot says³, is well sowed, but the Curdistan shore barren and uncultivated. This made a shelter of more importance to Jonah, few or no trees, we may presume, growing in this barren place, under which Jonah might have placed himself on the withering of the gourd. This accounts for his uneasiness; but then it will not be easy to conjecture from whence he could get boughs to make himself a booth. This, joined with the consideration, that the word translated *booth* sometimes signifies a shelter in the preparing of which *no art is used*, Jer. xxv. 38, and Job xxxviii. 40; and that the words, *the Lord prepared a gourd*, may signify he *had* prepared one; may lead us to think that this gourd, which Jonah happened to find in this desert place, was the booth under which he placed himself and all that he had, making it his defence against the heat; the perishing of which in course must give him great pain.

Especially when we consider the intolerable heat of that country, which is such, that Thevenot informs us, he did not go to visit the reputed tomb of Jonah, on the east-side of the Tigris, on account of the excessive

³ P. 56.

heat; there being no possibility of stirring abroad two hours after the sun is risen, till an hour after it is set, the walls being so hot, that, half a foot from them, one feels the heat, as if it were of an hot iron⁹.

About the kind of plant, whose shade was so refreshing to Jonah, I do not take upon me to form any conjectures. And as to some of the above-mentioned particulars, it is but right to acknowledge, that Rauwolff gave a very different account from Thevenot, if he is rightly translated: for in that collection of Mr. Ray he is represented, as saying, that they sow the greatest part of the corn there on the *eastern side* of the Tigris, and that the *Mesopotamian side* is so sandy, and dry, that you would think you were in the deserts of Arabia¹⁰. Thevenot is however generally acknowledged to have been an exact observer; and his account, I think I may venture to say from what I have been remarking, throws light on the history of Jonah, and may *on that account* be believed to be a just one: however, it will give me great pleasure to find hereafter this affair ascertained, by some curious and accurate person.

⁹ P. 52.

¹⁰ P. 188.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Houses and Cities of that Country.

DR. Shaw has given ¹ a very large and instructive account of the Eastern buildings: he is by all means to be consulted upon this point; but perhaps his reader may be of opinion, that the following observations prove, that he has not mentioned *every thing* concerning them which *deserves notice*.

OBSERVATION I.

This author tells us, their doors are large, and their chambers spacious; conveniences, as he observes, very well adapted to those *botter* climates ². But when Eglon is represented as receiving Ehud, and Death, in a *parlour of cooling*, as it is called in the margin of Judges iii. 20, or rather in a *chamber of cooling*, something more seems to be meant than merely its having a large door, or being spacious; at least there are *now* other contrivances in the East, to give *coolness* to particular rooms, which are very common, and though the time in which Eglon lived, is acknowledged to be of very *remote antiquity*, yet we are to remember he was a prince, and

¹ Tome 1. Part 3. Ch. 3. Sect. 5.² P. 207.

in the palaces of such these contrivances without doubt began.

The Doctor is silent upon this point, but Ruffell has given us the following account of one of their methods of cooling rooms. Their great houses at Aleppo, are composed of apartments on each of the sides of a square court, all of stone; and consist of a ground-floor, which is generally arched, and an upper-story, which is flat on the top, and either terraced with hard plaister, or paved with stone—Above stairs is a colonade, if not round the whole court, at least fronting the west, off from which are their rooms and kiosks; these latter are a sort of wooden *divans*, that project a little way from their other buildings, and hang over the street; they are raised about a foot and a half higher than the floor of the room, to which they are quite open, and by having windows in front and on each side, there is a great draught of air, which makes them cool in the summer, the advantage chiefly intended by them³.

They have another way of cooling their rooms in Ægypt. It is done by openings at the top, which let the fresh air into them. Egmont and Heyman⁴ as well as Maillet⁵ make mention of them, but the last men-

³ By the picture the Doctor has given us of one of these houses, they appear somewhat like our bow-windows, only *lattice'd* instead of having *panes of glass*. ⁴ V. 2. p. 83.

⁵ Let. 1. and Let. 2.

tioned author gives the most distinct account of these contrivances: they make, he tells us, their halls extremely *large and lofty*, with a dome at the top, which towards the north has several open windows; these are so constructed as to throw the *north wind* down into these rooms, and by this means, though the country is excessively hot, they can make the coolness of these apartments such as, oftentimes, not to be borne without being wrapped in furs. Egmont and Heyman speak of *chambers* cooled after this manner, as well as halls.

Eglon's appears to have been a *chamber*, and what Shaw calls an *Olee*, which gives a propriety to the mention that is made of Ehud's passing through the *porch*⁶, which no interpreter before the Doctor has, that I know of, remarked: but whether it was cooled by a kiosk, as they are called at Aleppo, or by an *Ægyptian dome*, or by some contrivance distinct from both, is of no consequence to determine. That *some* contrivance to mitigate the extreme heat of that climate began early to obtain, in the palaces of princes, is natural to believe; that it begun as early as the time of Eglon, this passage puts out of all doubt.

⁶ It is necessary to consult the Doctor's book to understand this, if we have forgotten his account. Through all these papers I have supposed my readers acquainted with his travels.

It was the more necessary, as Eglon appears to have kept his court at Jericho⁷, where the heat is so excessive, that it has proved fatal to some in March, as I have observed in a preceding chapter.

Their cieling their rooms with wood, and neatly painting, and sometimes gilding them, Dr. Shaw takes notice of as well as Russell; but this account of their kiosks gives a more complete comment on Jer. xxii. 14, which speaks of *through-aired chambers*⁸, and *cutting out windows*, as well as cieling with cedar, and painting with vermilion⁹.

OBSERVATION II.

[The *heat of the climate* being such, it might appear somewhat surprizing, that Solomon should speak of *two lying together in one bed, in order to get heat*, Eccl. iv. 11, did we not recollect, that this might be done sometimes for medicinal purposes; and hardly ever practised else.

⁷ Judges 3. 13. 28. ⁸ See the margin. Arias Montanus translates it *Cænacula vento exposita*. ⁹ Egmont and Heyman give an account of a *square tower*, in the center of a roof of a grand saloon at *Damascus*, for admitting the fresh air, V. 2. p. 254. If kiosks then alone are used at Aleppo, domes and towers for cooling rooms are used in other places for this purpose, nor are they peculiar to Ægypt. [The MS. C. tells us, *the eastern windows are very large, and even with the floor*. It is no wonder Eutychus might fall out if the lattice was not well fastened, or if it was decayed, when, sunk into a deep sleep, he leaned with all his weight against it, Acts xx. 9.]

It could not be in general a *necessary* management; it sometimes could *hardly be borne* in common life, in these very sultry regions.

Agreeably to this, Maillet remarks, that in Ægypt, they sleep each in a *separate bed*: that not only do the husband and the wife lie in two distinct beds in the same apartment, but that their female slaves, though several lodge in the same chamber, yet have each a separate mattress¹.

But it might, in the age of Solomon, be thought to be a very efficacious management, to recall the vital heat where it was almost extinguished, which was enough to justify the propriety of this sentiment of Solomon, in the ears of the inhabitants of this sultry part of the world. It is certain it was used in the case of his father David, 1 Kings i.

1, 2.

In common, we may believe, they lodged as the people of Ægypt now do. Luke xi. 7, is no argument to the contrary: “ He from
“ within shall answer and say, trouble me
“ not: the door is now shut, and my chil-
“ dren are *with me* in bed; I cannot rise and
“ give thee,” for all this may signify nothing more, than *we are all a-bed, do not disturb us; not we are all in one bed*².

¹ Let. II. p. 124. ² Sir John Chardin’s M S. tells us, it is usual for a whole family to sleep in the *same room*, especially those in lower life, through the East, they laying their beds on the ground. This circumstance, added to what is said above, sets this affair in the clearest and strongest light.

This is, I hope, an easy view of the words of Solomon, which might otherwise be thought to be more agreeable in the mouth of a Siberian or Laplander, than of an inhabitant of Palæstine. It has been observed in some of the preceding pages, that the cold of the night is very considerable even in these hot countries; they do not, however, now guard against it by lying two in a bed, probably, therefore, they did not anciently, as their customs seldom change.]

II.

OBSERVATION III.

The people of Aleppo, however, are so cautious to avoid a *cool air* when *they sleep*, that they choose for their bed-chambers the smallest and lowest-roofed rooms on the ground-floor, according to Dr. Russell, burning also in them not only a lamp all the time, but often one or two pans of charcoal; which sometimes proves of bad consequence to *them*, and would certainly *suffocate such as have not been accustomed to this bad practice*. But all this is to be understood of the winter-time; for in the summer, on the contrary, they are fond not only of sitting in a cool air, *but of sleeping in it also*, and make use of different methods to obtain this refreshment, lying on the *house-tops*, or having their beds made in their *court-yards* for the sake of coolness.

In like manner Dr. Pococke gives us to understand, that they often lie in Ægypt in those

those cool faloons, that have cupolas to let in the air; for he fays that they have *often* a fopha at each end, and that as they live, fo they often *lie* in thefe faloons, *having their beds* brought on the fophas ¹.

It is no wonder then that the fervants of Eglon imagined that he might be difpofed to fleep, in his *chamber of cooling*, or in the Scripture-phrafe, to cover his feet, when, after obferving that Ehud was departed, they found the door of the *Olee* locked, as if he had a mind ftill to continue alone and undifturbed. It might be a time too when he was known frequently to indulge himfelf in fleep ².

Ehud,

¹ V. I. p. 194. [² The *heat* of thefe countries at noon is fo great, in the fummer-time, that the Eastern people frequently lie down to fleep in the middle of the day, efpecially *people of delicacy*; it was fo anciently, for we find *Iſhbobeth* was laid on a bed at *noon*, when he was affaffinated, 2 Sam. 4. 5—7. The heat however of that time is not fo great, efpecially in the firft part of the fummer, but that more *hardy* people can journey then: the *ſons of Rimmon*, we find, were in motion, while *Iſhbobeth* fleep. So we find the curious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra, purfued his journey *all day long*, in the middle of March, over a very fandry, fultry defert, p. 33. Noon coming on, and the weather beginning to grow very warm, the fervants of Eglon, it ſhould feem, thought their maſter might be inclined to fleep at noon, as, doubtleſs, he was commonly wont to do when the fummer was more advanced; and yet the weather not be fo hot as to diſſuade Ehud from journeying, and efpecially in ſuch a critical ſituation. The papers publiſhed by Niebuhr give much the ſame account. In Arabia it is fo hot in July, and in Auguſt, that, except in a caſe of preſſing neceſſity, nobody goes out from eleven in the morning 'till three in the afternoon: the Arabs ſeldom work during this time, they employ it commonly in ſleep-

Ehud, it may be imagined, came with his attendants and presents to the quarries of Gilgal, in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and from thence in form to a public audience in some open place; that having acquired the good graces and the confidence of Eglon, by the agreeableness of his present, he obtained the favour of a private audience at a set hour; that sending away all his attendants from the place where they put themselves in order to appear before the king, excepting those that his quality made it decent for him to retain, he came back from thence with these few attendants, and being admitted for privacy into this apartment, as he pretended to have some affair of secrecy to impart, he there killed Eglon, and coming back to his attendants, mounted with them, and followed those that could not retire with the swiftness he could, and who therefore were previously sent away.

III.

OBSERVATION IV.

They sleep, in the summer, on the *tops of the houses* at Aleppo, and they do the same in Judæa.

So Egmont and Heyman tell us, that at Caïpha¹, at the foot of Mount Carmel, ing in a vault, into which the air is let from above, &c. p. 6. So Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume, speaking of the womens' going out at evening to fetch water, Gen. 24. 11, says, *this is always done then, or in the morning, none stirring out of the house when the sun is any height above the horizon, without great necessity.*] ¹ V. 2. p. 4.

“ the

“ the houses are small, and flat-roofed,
 “ *where*, during the summer, the inhabitants
 “ sleep in arbours made of the boughs of
 “ trees.” They mention also tents of rushes
 on the flat roofs of the houses at Tiberias²,
 which are doubtless for the same purpose,
 though they do not say so. Dr. Pococke in
 like manner tells us³, that when he was at
 Tiberias in Galilee, he was entertained by
 the Sheik’s steward, (the Sheik himself having
 much company with him, but sending him
 provisions from his own kitchen,) and that
 they *supped* on the *top of the house* for cool-
 ness, *according to their custom*, and *lodged there*
likewise, in a sort of closet, about eight feet
 square, of wicker-work, plaistered round to-
 wards the bottom, but without any door,
 each person having his cell. In Galilee then
 we find they lodged a *stranger*, whom they
 treated *with respect*, on the top of the house,
 and even caused him to sup there. This was
 in the latter end of May.

This writer is more distinct than the
 others on this point, and I have recited his
 account at large, because it may perhaps lead
 us to the true explanation of 1 Sam. ix.
 25, 26, which verses tell us, that after they
 descended from the high-place, Samuel con-
 versed with Saul on the *house-top*; and that
 at the spring of the day Samuel called Saul
 to the house-top, or, as it may be equally

² P. 32. ³ V. 2. p. 69.

well translated, *on the house-top* ⁴. That is, Samuel conversed with him for coolness on the house-top in the evening, and in the morning called Saul who had lodged *there* all night, and was not got up, saying, “Up, that I may send thee away.” The Septuagint seem to have understood it very much in this light, for they thus translate the passage, *And they spread a bed for Saul on the house-top, and he slept*; which shews how agreeable this explanation is to those that are acquainted with Eastern customs. As it is represented in our translation, Samuel called Saul *to* the house-top in the morning, but no account can be easily given for this; it doth not appear to have been for secrecy, for he did not anoint him *then*, but after he had left Samuel’s house, for which transaction the Prophet expressly required secrecy, “As they were going down to the end of the city, Samuel said to Saul, bid the servant *pass on* before us, (and he passed on,) but *stand thou still* awhile, that I may shew thee the word of God.”

This sleeping on the terraces of their houses is only in summer-time. By this then we may determine, in the general, that this secret inauguration of Saul was in *that part* of the year.

⁴ According to Noldius, who assures us η *locale* signifies in or on a place, (p. 217, 218. Ed. 1734) as well as motion to a place where that motion ceases. The author indeed of the notes on Noldius denies this, but 2 Sam. 12, 16. Dan. 10. 9, Jer. 29. 15, places mentioned by Noldius, prove him mistaken.

[Dr. Shaw has cited this passage concerning Samuel and Saul, when mentioning the various uses to which the people of the East put the flat roofs of their houses, though without explaining it; but he has not mentioned among the other Scriptures, that relating to Nebuchadnezzar, who is described by the Prophet as walking on the roof of his palace, and taking a view of Babylon, when he fell, upon surveying that *mighty city*, into that haughty soliloquy, which brought after it a dreadful humiliation.

This is the more unhappy, because though many have, all have not considered the passage in this light. Our own translation in particular has not, but renders the words, "He walked *in* the palace of the kingdom of Babylon," Dan. iv. 29, and thrown the other reading, "*upon* the palace," into the margin, as less preferable. But to those that are acquainted with Eastern customs, who recollect the passage, which Dr. Shaw, it seems, did not, there cannot be any doubt how it is to be understood. "Sur la terrasse," says Sir J. Chardin, in his M S. note on this place, "pour le plaisir de la vûe, pour de la considerer la ville, & pour prendre la frais, & c'est ce que prouve le verset suiv." That is, he walked *upon the terrace, for the pleasure of the prospect, to take a view of the city, and to enjoy the fresh air.* Nothing can be more natural than this interpretation.]

IV.

OBSERVATION V.

No wonder they sleep only on the tops of the houses in summer, since however *agreeable* these arbours and these wicker-work closets may be in the dry part of the year, they must be very disagreeable in the wet, and they that should then lodge in them, would be exposed to a *continual dropping*. To be limited consequently to such a place, and to have no other apartment to live in, must be very incommoding.

To such circumstances then probably it is that Solomon alludes, when he saith, “ It is better to dwell in a *corner of the house-top*, than with a brawling woman in a wide house,” Prov. xxi. 9, and Ch. xxv. 24. A *corner* covered with boughs or rushes, and made into a little arbour, in which they used to sleep in summer, but which must have been a very incommodious place, to have made an entire dwelling. To the same allusion belong these other expressions, that speak of the contentions of a wife being like a continual dropping, Prov. xix. 13, and Ch. xxvii. 15. Put together they amount to this, *It is better to have no other habitation than an arbour on the house-top, and be there exposed to the wet of winter, which is oftentimes of several days continuance, than to dwell in a wide and commodious house with a brawling woman, for her contentions are a continual drop-*

dropping, and wide as the house may be, you will not be able to avoid them, and get out of their reach.

Nor will it be any objection to this observation, if it should be affirmed, that the *booths* and wicker-work *closets* are not made at the *corners* of their parapet-walls, but on the *middle* of their roofs, as very probably they are, the better to receive the fresh air; since the word translated corner, doth not only signify a place where two walls join, but a *tower* also, as appeareth Zeph. i. 16, and consequently may signify such a sort of arbour, as well as one formed by means of two joining walls.

OBSERVATION VI.

V.

It is supposed under the last Observation, that Solomon represents an house as sometimes divided between a number of families, anciently, in Judæa, as it often is amongst us; since he gives us to understand, that in dividing the apartments of an house, it would be better to be put off with a booth on the roof, and have no other room, than to possess a palace for largeness along with a contentious wife.

Nor is this to be wondered at, since at this day a number of families live in one house in those countries, dividing it between them, and this notwithstanding the privacy with which the Eastern families are obliged to

live, by their jealous masters. This Dr. Shaw affirms to be true of Barbary¹, though he makes no use of it for the illustration of these places of Scripture. Egmont and Heyman speak of the same practice in Ægypt, and tell us, that the inhabitants of Rosetta live in general in large *public* buildings, called *Okel*, built of brick, very lofty, and in a square form, having an open court in the middle very convenient for tradesmen². Some of the houses of the great, designed for a *single family*, are on the other hand extremely large, are built round *two* courts, and are *filled* with servants: there is such a thing then as *wide houses*, and *houses of society*, among them, as Solomon speaks. Russell may be consulted on this point by those that are curious, as may also Egmont and Heyman, V. II. p. 83, and p. 253, 254.

VI.

OBSERVATION VII.

I do not know that it has been remarked, that the chief and the most ornamented apartments of the palace Jehoiakim set himself to build, are represented by Jeremiah as *upper-rooms*, Ch. xxii. 13, 14, “ Wo to him
 “ that buildeth his house by unrighteous-
 “ nefs, and his *chambers* by wrong,—that
 “ faith, I will build me a wide house, and
 “ large, or through-aired *chambers* ;” but I believe none of our authors would express

¹ P. 208, and 295.² V. 2. p. 113, 114.

themselves after this manner: the *lower-rooms* would be the chief objects of their attention. It was perfectly natural, however, in Jeremiah, there is reason to think; for the chief rooms of the houses of Aleppo at this day are those above, the ground-floor there being chiefly made use of for their *horses* and *servants*³.

Perhaps the Prophet Amos referred to this circumstance, when he spoke of the heavens as God's *chambers*, the most *noble and splendid apartments* of the palace of God, and where his presence is chiefly manifested; and the bundle or collection of its *offices*, its numerous, little, mean apartments, the divisions of this earth. Amos ix. 6.

OBSERVATION VIII.

VII.

The walls of the Eastern houses are very *thick*, in order to shelter the inhabitants more effectually from the great heats¹. They are also sometimes built of *stone*, and sometimes only of dried mud. Egmont and Heyman found them built of both these at Tiberias².

The great and magnificent houses are in some places built of mud, or clay, on the out-sides, of which the ingenious editor of the Ruins of Balbec gives us the following account, and of the inconveniences they occasion. "This village," says he,³ (Cara)

³ Ruffell, p. 4. ¹ Egmont and Heyman, Vol. I. p. 300.
² V. 2. p. 32. ³ P. 2.

“ is pleasantly seated on a rising ground.
 “ The common *mud*, formed into the shape
 “ of bricks, and dried in the sun ⁴, of which
 “ its houses are built, have at some distance
 “ the appearance of white stone. The short
 “ duration of such materials is not the only
 “ objection to them; for they make the
 “ streets *dusty*, when there is wind, and *dirty*
 “ when there is rain. These inconveniences
 “ are felt at Damascus, which is mostly built
 “ in the same manner.” They are felt in-
 deed! for Maundrell says, that upon a violent
 rain at Damascus, the whole city becomes,
 by the *washing of the houses*, as it were a
 quagmire ⁵.

Agreeably to this account, the Prophet supposes the quantity of the dust, and the mire, of the streets of the Eastern citie was very great, in that passage, “ Tyrus did build

[⁴ So Sir J. Chardin, in the sixth volume of his MS, tells us, that *the Eastern bricks are in their shape like those of Europe, and in common only dried in the sun. That they are made of clay well moistened with water and mixed with straw, which, according to their way of getting the grain out of the ear, is cut into small pieces, by a machine they make use of, instead of a flail for threshing, and which he describes very much as other authors have done. This cut straw, he also tells us, is used instead of hay for all their domestic animals, which occasions their towns and fields to be full of it. This usefulness of the straw for their cattle, and their using it notwithstanding at first for their bricks, and afterwards stubble, would incline one to believe the straw was not used by the Israelites in Ægypt for fuel, but as part of the composition of their bricks; stubble would have always done as well for burning them; nor would the Ægyptians have been so lavish of their straw.*] ⁵ P. 124, 125.

“ herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver
 “ as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the
 “ streets.” Zech. ix. 3. The energy of this
 image, as it was in the mind of the Prophet,
 I apprehend, I have no where met with
 pointed out with the distinctness in which
 the preceding quotation places it.

What is said of the *colour* of the houses
 of Cara, *that they have the appearance of white
 stone*, will account for the using the same
 Hebrew word to signify a brick, which is
 used to signify a white thing: the Eastern
 bricks are, often at least, naturally white.

Their buildings are frequently of stone
 still; Moses supposes their houses were *an-
 ciently* built after this manner in Canaan,
 Lev. xiv. 40.

The greater *durableness* of such edifices has
 not, however, prevailed on those people to
 build universally with them, and especially
 in some countries, no not where stones might
 be procured in plenty; so Norden describes
 the Ægyptian and Arabian architecture as
 differing from the Roman, being of mud
 and slime⁶. They seem to choose these ma-
 terials at Damascus, for they build there after
 this manner, though Maundrell expressly
 observes they have plenty of stones in their
 neighbourhood. The Architecture of the
 country of Job seems to have been of the
 same kind, for he speaks of adulterers *dig-
 ging* through houses, Job xxiv. 16.

⁶ P. 81, second part.

These walls of sun-burnt brick, when moistened with copious showers, must have been liable to accidents of this kind, at the same time that the thickness of them must have made the term digging peculiarly expressive.

[Dr. Shaw has taken notice of the mouldering down of some Eastern buildings, upon a shower of rain, when he was at Tozer, p. 136, and he supposes that circumstance might illustrate what Ezekiel says of the untempered mortar, ch. xiii. 11. How the dissolution of *bricks or tiles*, by the application of wet to them, explains the not properly tempering their *mortar*, is not very clear; and as Sir J. Chardin gives us a more distinct account of this matter, in his MS. notes, and refers to Amos vi. 11, as well as that passage in Ezekiel, I would here set down his account.

They are the rains which cause the walls to fall, which are built of clay, the mortar-plastering dissolving. This plastering hinders the water from penetrating the bricks, but, when the plastering has been soaked with wet, the wind cracks it, and occasions the rain in some succeeding shower to get between, and dissolves every thing. Dr. Shaw does not mention this plastering, which however the Prophet seems to refer to, since he complains of its not being properly tempered; whereas no Eastern unburnt bricks, however tempered, can be supposed to resist violent rains.

Sir John's account illustrates the *breaches and the clefts* mentioned by Amos too in a

very happy manner : many great houses, as well as little ones, being built of these very fragile materials ⁷.

OBSERVATION IX.

If the Eastern bricks are not very durable, their mortar, especially one sort of it, is extremely so, composed, according to Dr. Shaw, of one part of sand, two of *wood-ashes*, and three of lime, well mixed together, and beaten for three days and nights *incessantly* with wooden mallets ¹.

The Doctor does not apply this observation to the illustrating any passage of Scripture ; but Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on Mal. iv. 3, “ Ye shall tread down the wicked, for “ they shall be *ashes* under the soles of your “ feet,” *supposes the Prophet alludes there to the custom of making mortar with ashes in the East, collected from their baths* ².

The people of Africa are said to use mallets, but it should seem from the Prophets, the people of the more Eastern countries trod their mortar in these times, Is. xli. 25, Nahum iii. 14. In doing this, it was by no means necessary that their feet should be naked.

⁷ Maundrell, p. 125, speaks of *mud-walls*, and doors adorned with *marble portals*, carved and inlaid with great beauty. ¹ P. 206. ² Figure prise de ceux qui font ce mortier composé de chaux & de cendre corroyée de bains.

Some learned men have supposed the wicked here are compared to ashes, because the Prophet had been speaking of their destruction under the notion of burning, v. 1: but the sacred writers are not wont to keep close to those figures they first proposed, this paragraph of Malachi is a proof of it; and if they had, he would not have spoken of treading on the wicked *like ashes*, if it had not been *customary* in those times to tread *ashes*, which, it seems, was done when they made *morter*.

OBSERVATION X.

If their bricks, in those hot and dry countries, are in general only dried in the sun, not burnt, there is some reason to be doubtful whether the Hebrew word *Malben* signifies a brick-kiln, as multitudes besides our translators have supposed.

The bricks used in the construction of the Ægyptian canals, must have been well burnt; those dried in the sun could have lasted no time. But bricks for this use could not have been often wanted. They were not necessary for the building those treasure-cities which are mentioned Exod. i. 11. One of the pyramids is built with ¹ sun-dried bricks, which Sir J. Chardin tells us are *durable* ², as well as

¹ Norden, V. 1. p. 129. ² This pyramid of brick is supposed to be that mentioned by Herodotus, as built by Cheops, and therefore very ancient: an evident proof of the great durability of bricks of that kind in Ægypt. Norden, p. 132.

accommodated to the temperature of the air there; which last circumstance is, I presume, the reason they are in such common use in these very hot countries. There must then be many places used in the East for the making bricks, where there are no *kilns* at all; and such a place, I apprehend, the word *malben* signifies, and it should seem to be the perpetual association of a kiln, and of the places where bricks are made, with us in the West, that has occasioned the word to be translated *brick-kiln*.

The interpretation I have given best suits Jer. xliii. 9. The smoke of a brick-kiln, in the neighbourhood of a royal Ægyptian palace, would not have agreed very well with the Eastern cleanliness and perfumes.]

OBSERVATION XI.

VIII.

When our Travellers express their surprize at the contrast between the outside and inside appearance of the Eastern palaces, and, in order to convey the same to their readers, give a particular account of the magnificence within, they do it by speaking of their *water-works*, their *Mosaic pavements*, the *incrustation* of their walls with the *most exquisite marbles*, their *carved wainscottings* of wood heightened with *painting and gilding*, *cornices* filled with *porcelain*, and *gold and silver toys*, &c¹; but

¹ See Ruffell, Maillet Let. II, Egmont and Heynan, Vol. 2. p. 253, 254.

not one word of *ivory*, used either about the house, or by way of furniture.

The Romans, on the other hand, ornamented their houses anciently with *ivory*, as well as made use of it in their household-stuff :

*Non Ebur neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar :
Non trabes Hymettias
Premunt columnas ultima recifas
Africa. &c,*

says Horace. Prose writers speak of the same; and the critics, to illustrate those passages of the Prophets which speak of *ivory houses*, have produced citations of this kind from them.

There is some resemblance to be found between the old Roman and Eastern way of adorning their apartments. The ceilings at Aleppo, according to Russell, are of wood, neatly painted, and *sometimes gilded*: this gilding explains the *aureum lacunar* of Horace. But it seems that the old Romans thought, that the beauty of gold appeared with the greatest advantage when mingled with *ivory*, or something of that sort²; and therefore their ceilings were not only gilded like the Aleppine, but inlaid with *ivory*³. The Eastern people¹ might possibly use *ivory* formerly

² Vide Virg. *Æn.* i. p. 596, 597.

³ — Quale per anem
Inclusum Buxo, aut Oricia Terebintho
Lucet Ebur. *Æn.* 10.

in their buildings, as the Romans afterwards did, though it is no part of their present luxury: their customs are not *invariable*, though they are *very lasting*.

However, I have sometimes thought, that as the ancients were not very nice in distinguishing things, it is *very possible* that the sumptuousness of the old Eastern buildings might not at all differ, in this respect, from that of the modern; and I have been doubtful whether they did not mean houses built of polished marble, which is white and shining *like ivory*, by the *ivory houses* mentioned Pf. xlv. 8, 1 Kings xxii. 39, Amos iii. 15. They would not, it is certain, have been less exact in doing so, than the Romans in calling a lion a bear, and the panther a rat of Africa⁴.

The Jews of after-times made use of marble, and affected that which was white, when they designed to give the highest magnificence to their buildings. Thus Josephus expressly mentions⁵ the *whiteness* of the stone made use of by Simon the high-priest, when he erected a most sumptuous monument for the Maccabees; and of that used by Herod the great, in the splendid buildings of Cæsarea; and the *polishing* of both.

Dr. Shaw tells us⁶ the Grecian artists did not begin to use marble, either in sculpture or building, till the year 720 before Christ.

⁴ See Shaw's Trav. p. 172. ⁵ Antiq. Jud. Lib. 13. c. 9. and Lib. 15. c. 6. ⁶ P. 368. note.

The Jews might very well take up the use of it two or three hundred years sooner, which is about the time we first meet with the mention of ivory houses, and ivory palaces in the Scriptures. If the remains of some of the Ægyptian structures are of that remote antiquity they are imagined to be, that people must have used marble long before the Jews, so far as we know their affairs, as well as long before the Greeks; and indeed it is probable that the Jews and Tyrians borrowed the use of it from the Ægyptians, as Vitruvius tells us the Romans did the art of incrustating buildings with it. But it is however to be remembered, that the marble of the most ancient Ægyptian structures, and particularly of the pyramids, is not polished according to Norden⁷; the art of polishing marble not being then, he supposes, known among them. He has not any where, that I remember, attempted to shew when they began to polish their marbles; it might then possibly not be long before the time of those ivory houses of which the Scriptures speak, and from the resemblance of this polished marble to ivory it might be called by the same name. But this is mere *conjecture*⁸.

OBSER-

⁷ Vol. I. p. 135.

⁸ And this which, at best, was but mere *conjecture*, has been since weakened by the *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, which assure us, that she found *ivory* made use of in fitting up the Haram of the Kahya's palace at Adrianople. It's winter-apartments being wainscotted with inlaid

OBSERVATION XII.

IX.

That the use of *polished marble* however was not so early, in Ægypt itself, as the days of Moses, we may gather, I think, satisfac-

laid work of mother-of-pearl, *ivory of different colours*, and olive wood, like the little boxes brought from that country, Vol. 2. p. 161, 162. Edit. 3d. I never met with this circumstance before in books of travels into the Levant, but as this fact cannot now be questioned, so, without doubt, it is not singular: other Harems, it must be imagined, are adorned in the same manner. Hasselquist also mentions wainscoting inlaid with crosses, and other ornaments of ivory, in an Ægyptian chapel, p. 62.

The choosing olive, out of every other kind of wood, for the adorning these sumptuous apartments, shews the elegance and grandeur of the taste in which Solomon's temple was built, where the doors of the Oracle, and some other parts, were of olive-wood. Had her Ladyship visited the Harems of some of the Princes of Arabia Felix, perhaps she might have made observations, which might have explained the *almug* or *algum-trees* of Arabia, of which Solomon made pillars for the house of the Lord, and for his own house: an enquiry recommended to the Danish Academicians.

The Ambassadors mentions olive-wood, and mother-of-pearl in another place, (Vol. 3. p. 51.) as also incrustations of Japan china.

Sir John Chardin's MS. agrees with Lady Montague's account. For after observing the Chaldee paraphrase, on Amos 3. 15, explains the ivory houses of houses paved with ivory; he adds, *the ceilings of the Eastern houses are of Mosaic work, and for the most part of ivory, like those superb Talaar of Persia, which so well merit a description.* And in another place, he observes that *by the beds of ivory we must understand those elevations* (Estrades is the French word he makes use of) *which are in use in the Indies, in Turkey, in Persia, among the great only, on which they eat, and on which they lie.*]

torily enough from a circumstance mentioned in the writings of that Prophet: for when he would describe with grandeur the appearance of God to the elders of Israel, Exod. xxiv. 10, he speaks of his having something like *brick-work*, for so the original words signify, of a *sapphire colour* under his feet, but *transparent* as the body of Heaven.

Had polished marble been used for pavements then, as it was afterwards, we may believe that Moses would have referred to them, rather than to a pavement of brick-work, since he is evidently endeavouring to describe the divine appearance as august; pavements then of that sort were not in use at that time in Ægypt, we may conclude, and consequently the *polishing* of marble not invented; since when polished, it was, for ought we know, applied to pavements as soon as to any thing else, and if not, if thought too noble a thing to be trampled on, might yet have served Moses to compare the pavement to under the feet of the divine apparition, if he had had any notion at all of these polished stones.

The expression, *there was something like brick-work under his feet*, seems to point to that sort of pavement which is formed of *painted tiles*, (or bricks,) and is common at this day in the East, according to Dr. Shaw¹. They are the same, I suppose, as those painted tiles, with which he tells as they are wont

¹ P. 209.

frequently to adorn part of their walls, by *incrustating* it with these tiles, if I may so debase that term. The Doctor does not particularly describe them, but it appears from other writers that they are frequently blue. So le Bruyn tells us ² the mosque at Jerusalem, which the Turks call the temple of Solomon, is almost all covered over with green and *blue bricks*, which are glazed, so that when the sun shines, the eye is perfectly dazzled. Some of these bricks or tiles, my reader will observe, are blue, the colour Moses mentions; but bricks and tiles are not transparent: to describe then the pavement under the feet of the God of Israel with due majesty, Moses represents it as like the floors of painted tile he had seen, but transparent however as the body of heaven.

Had Moses known any thing of marble pavements, it is natural to suppose, he would rather have compared what was seen in this august vision to them, than to a floor of painted tile, though such an one is not without its beauty ³; which ought to be remarked, to prevent our receiving impressions of too debasing a kind from Moses's mentioning brick-work under the feet of God: our imaginations might otherwise have been led to the poor pavements of brick in our cottages; whereas Moses seems, on the contra-

² Tom. 2. p. 238, 239. ³ Thevenot calls them pure tiles, like China, p. 26. part 1.

ry, to have thought of the most splendid floors *Ægypt then* knew.

Dr. Shaw, after having said that the floors in the Levant are laid with painted tiles, or plaister of terrace, informs us in a note ⁴, that a pavement like this is mentioned Esther i. 6, 7. “The beds were of gold and silver, “upon a pavement of *red and blue and white and black marble.*” But this is not the happiest of the Doctor’s illustrations, since floors of different coloured marble are common now in the East ⁵; since this of Ahafuerus is generally supposed to have been of that kind; since there is a great difference in point of magnificence between a pavement of marble and one of painted tiles, and consequently the palace of so mighty a monarch as Ahafuerus rather to be supposed to be paved with marble; and since the Jewish historian is giving an account of the pavement of a court-yard, not of a room.

It deserves a remark, that the Eastern floors and ceilings are just the *reverse* of ours. Their ceilings are of *wood*, ours of *plaister*, or *stucco-work*; their floors are of *plaister* or of *painted tiles*, ours of *wood*. This effectually detects a mistake of Kimchi and R. Solomon, who, according to Buxtorf ⁶, supposed the floor of the porch of judgment which Solomon built

⁴ P. 209. ⁵ So Dr. Russell tells us they pave their courts at Aleppo with marble, and oftentimes with a mixture of yellow and white, red and black, by way of ornament, p. 48. ⁶ Epit. Rad. Heb. p. 780.

was all of cedar; whereas the sacred writer, 1 Kings vii. 7, undoubtedly meant its covering a top, its ceiling, was of cedar. Indeed here in the *West*, where these Jewish Rabbies lived, such places are usually built after the Eastern mode, which makes their mistake so much the more strange. Westminster-hall is, I think, paved with *stone* and ceiled with *wood*; and such without doubt was the ceiling and the pavement of the porch for judgment which Solomon built, and which was erected in a much hotter climate.

OBSERVATION XIII.

X.

Dr. Shaw refers to this passage of Esther, in the same page, on another account, and, it should seem, with like success. He says the Eastern *chambers*, in houses of better fashion, are covered and adorned, from the middle of the wall downwards, “with velvet
“or damask hangings, of *white, blue, red,*
“*green,* or other colours, (Esther i. 6,)
“suspended (upon hooks) or taken down at
“pleasure.”

Here again this ingenious author seems to have been less exact, and should rather, I imagine, have referred to this passage, when he told us that the courts or quadrangles of their houses, when a large company is to be received into them, are commonly sheltered from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a *velum, umbrella, or veil*, which being expanded

panded upon ropes from one side of the *parapet-wall* to the other, may be folded or unfolded at pleasure¹. For though there are some things in that passage of the book of Esther that cannot be determined without difficulty, yet it is extremely plain that the company were entertained in a *court* of the palace of Ahafuerus, which agrees with Dr. Shaw's account, that when much company are to be admitted into an house, the court is the place of their reception; now though their *chambers* are hung with velvet or damask hangings, it does not appear that on such occasions their *courts* are thus adorned, but there is a *veil* stretched out over-head to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. And indeed to something of this sort it is *commonly* supposed these words refer, though none have given a better illustration of this piece of ancient history than Dr. Shaw has undesignedly done, in this account of their receiving company, when the number is large, in these courts, and covering them with veils expanded on ropes.

OBSERVATION XIV.

[The pins, or nails, that are fastened up in these Eastern houses are fixed very *securely*, according to the MS. C; a circumstance that it should seem was attended to anciently,

¹ P. 208.

If. xxii. 23. " I will fasten him as a nail in
" a sure place."

The account the M S. gives is this: *They do not drive with an hammer the nails that are put into the Eastern walls; the walls are too hard, being of brick, or if they are of clay, they are too mouldering; but they fix them in the brick-work as they are building. They are large nails, with square heads like dice, well made, the ends bent so as to make them cramp-irons. They commonly place them at the windows and doors, in order to hang upon them, when they like, veils and curtains.*

The nails the Prophet refers to were for another purpose; however the people of these countries are very careful to fasten them very securely in their buildings.

OBSERVATION XV.

Answerably to this way of treating a large company in the court of a building, we are naturally led to suppose the feast made by Belshazzar to a thousand of his Lords, when he drank wine before the thousand¹, was held in a quadrangle of his palace; which possibly may help to explain some passages of this transaction better than has hitherto been done.

Sir J. Chardin has a note in his M S. on this passage, but these memorandums have not thoroughly cleared up this affair.

¹ Dan. 5. 1, &c.

The substance of them is this: *that two things ought to be remarked here, the one, that our painters err, when in painting this history they draw a silver sconce with a wax-candle in it, such as formerly were placed in great houses, which appears by the Septuagint, which makes use of a term which signifies a lamp (or torch); nor ordinarily are candles made use of in the East. The other, that by the word candlestick is not to be understood an utensil for the reception of a candle, but of a quantity of tallow, according to the usages of the East. Farther, over-against the candlestick, is not to be understood to mean near the candlestick, but opposite to the candlestick, where its light was principally directed. — A sconce would ill agree with the Oriental manner of sitting on the ground. He after these things fums up all with saying, Three things then are to be taken notice of here: First, In what part of the house the writing appeared; another, the nature of the candlestick; and lastly, the place of the writing with respect to the candlestick, or range of candlesticks. This is the sum of what this Gentleman has remarked upon this head.*

Perhaps the illustration may advance a little nearer completeness, if we add the following particulars: in the first place, that most probably this feast was held in some open court of the palace. The present customs of the East²; the number of the people at this entertainment; and the place where

² See Shaw, p. 208.

another king of Persia held a solemn feast³; all concur to establish this sentiment.

Secondly, That the candlestick of course may be imagined to be some very *large utensil*, with one or more very large *lamps*, sufficient to illuminate this area in a splendid and royal manner. It appears by the term made use of, that there was but *one* candlestick. One candlestick however we know might have several lamps, since that made for the tabernacle of Moses had seven⁴: Belshazzar's might have more. When Mr. Hanway was treated in Persia one evening, by a person of some distinction, he tells us⁵, there stood *in the court-yard*, a *large lamp*, supplied with tallow; and in the middle of the room, on the floor, was a wax-candle: if one large tallow-lamp sufficed for the court-yard of a person of some distinction, a very large candlestick with many such lamps might do very well for this court of the palace of Belshazzar.

Thirdly, *Over-against the candlestick on the wall of the King's palace* may very naturally be explained, of the wall of that side of the quadrangle opposite to where Belshazzar sat. This was the proper place for the appearance of the writing to catch the eye of the King; and the Chaldee word may extremely well be so interpreted. This consideration may ease some difficulties that otherwise would occur:

³ Esther i. 5. ⁴ Exod. 25. 37, Ch. 37. 23. See also Zech. 4. 2. ⁵ Vol. i. p. 223.

for if we were to understand it of a *room* in the palace, where should we suppose the *plastering of the wall* was? Their ceilings are now wont to be of wainscot artfully painted, or thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of writing⁶. The lower half of the side-walls are covered and adorned with velvet and damask hangings, according to Dr. Shaw; and the upper part embellished with most ingenious devices in stucco and fret-work according to him. And at Aleppo, it should seem, according to Dr. Ruffell's description, and his drawings, with pannels of wainscot, and paintings or carvings of flowers, leaves, and inscriptions. Where then shall we suppose the fatal writing appeared? where the plastering on the wall? The inclosing themselves in cedar, the ceiling with precious wood, and the painting in an ornamental way, were things used before the time of Belshazzar, and in the palaces of princes whose dominions were by no means equal to his in extent or riches, Jer. xxii. 14, 15. But if we suppose the writing on the external surface of one side of the quadrangle, that side opposite to the candlestick, and to where the King sat, it is very easy to explain it's being on the plastering of the wall: Babylon was not a country for stone, bricks were used there as a succedaneum, Gen. xi. 3; and Sir J. Chardin in his MSS. describes brick-work as often plastered over.

⁶ Shaw's Travels. p. 209. Ruffell, p. 2.

Fourthly, As Babylon was surprized on a festival night, it might be that called *şedeb* or *şedouk*, of which d'Herbelot gives us an amusing but short description, which agrees very well with the preceding explanation: in that festival the Persians kept *great fires* during the night, about which they feasted, and danced, it being one of the most solemn which they had: the Arabs call it *Leilat al voucoud* ⁷.]

OBSERVATION XVI.

XI.

These quadrangles or courts are paved, Shaw says, with marble, or such sort of materials as will carry off the rain. Russell's account of the houses of Aleppo agrees with this, and upon this occasion it is, that he takes notice ¹ of their making the pavements of their best buildings of a yellow marble, which takes a tolerable polish, and with which they often intermix a red, white, and coarse black marble, by way of ornament. But what I would here remark is, that there is very commonly a fountain in the middle of the court, and a kind of little garden about it, which in that climate must be peculiarly agreeable. Whether this is at all explanatory of king Ahasuerus's making a feast in the *court of the garden* of his palace, I do not know; but the mention both of

⁷ Bibliothéque Orientale, l'Art. Fars. The Persians indeed were the *besiegers*; but might not this festival be common to them and the Babylonians? or adopted by the Persians after this conquest? ¹ See the note under Observation XII.

the *pavement* and of the *garden* leads us to think of that passage.

Dr. Ruffel says too, if I do not misremember, that they have sometimes a tall *cypress-tree* planted in the inner court of their houses, but neither he, nor any other traveller, that I recollect, speaks of the conducting vines along the sides of their houses; that, however common it may be among us, doth not appear to be an Eastern custom, or to make any part of the verdure with which they set off their courts.

I doubt therefore a late very ingenious and learned as well as lively writer was mistaken, in supposing the occasion of our Lord's comparing himself to a *vine* might be his standing "near a window, or in some court by the side of the house, where the sight of a *vine* might suggest this beautiful simile;" to which, after referring to Pf. cxxviii. 3, he adds, "that circumstance was, no doubt, *common in Judæa*, which abounded with the finest grapes:" and I am apprehensive that this is an additional proof of the requisiteness of attending to the customs of the East, when we would explain the Scriptures.

The Jewish nation would not have admitted this illustration, had this management been common in other parts of that country, for, according to their writers, *Je-*

² Dodd. Fam. Exp. vol. 2. p. 462. note b.

rusalem was distinguished from all the other towns of Judæa, as by several other peculiarities, so in particular by its having *no gardens, or any trees* planted in it, *excepting some rose-bushes*, which it seems had been from the days of the ancient Prophets³: consequently there could be no vine, in their opinion, about the sides of the house in which our Lord was when he spoke these words.

But the cxxviiith Psalm is no proof, I apprehend, that it was practised *any where else* in that country, though it has been thus understood by other writers besides this author; and among the rest, by no less considerable persons than Coccejus, Hammond, Patrick, and Kimchi the Jewish Rabbi. For as it is visible that the good man's sons *being like olive-plants round about his table*, means not that they should be like the olive-plants which grew round his table, it being, I presume, a thought in Bishop Patrick that will not be defended, that the Psalmist refers to a table spread in an arbour composed of young olive-trees, for we find no such arbours in the Levant, nor is the tree very proper for such a purpose; so in like manner the first clause must signify, *thy wife shall be in the sides, or private apartments, of thy house, fruitful as a thriving vine*: the place here mentioned (the sides of the house) referring to the wife, not to the vine; as the other (the table) refers to the children, not

³ Lightfoot, vol. 2. p. 21.

to the olives. Nor is this a new thought, it is a remark that Musculus and other interpreters have made ⁴.

The Hebrew word, translated *fides*, is very well known to signify the more *private apartments* of an house, as they have also remarked; and he that reads Dr. Shaw's description of an Eastern house, must immediately see the propriety of calling the private apartments *its fides*. Such an house consists of a square court, which, the Doctor observes, is called *the midst* of the house; and private apartments round it, which may as properly be called *its fides* in consequence: into this middle of the house, or this quadrangle, company, he tells us, are sometimes received, rarely or never into any of the chambers, in which *other authors* tell us their *wives* remain concealed at such times.

And from hence, it seems, places of privacy and concealment in general came to be called *fides*: the more obscure holes of the cave where David and his men were hid, when Saul entered it, were called *its fides* we find, 1 Sam. xxiv. 3; and that country that had been little known and visited, from whence a nation was to come against Jerusalems, is called, in the predictions of Jeremiah, the *fides* of the earth. Jer. vi. 22.

I will only further add under this Observation, that David Kimchi, the famous Rabbi, is more unhappy ⁵ than our Christian com-

⁴ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

⁵ In eadem Syn.

mentators in his explanation of this Psalm : for he tells us, a wife is compared to a vine, because *that alone of all trees* can be planted in an house ; whereas, according to Russell ⁶, they are tall cypresses that are usually planted in their court-yards, if they plant any trees at all. But Kimchi was a Frenchman or a Spaniard, as were several of their most celebrated Doctors, whose writings therefore, to make a remark upon them once for all, are much less useful for the explanation of books in which there are perpetual references to Eastern customs, than otherwise they probably would have been.

OBSERVATION XVII.

XII.

Dr Russell doth not represent the pavement of the courts as all Mosaic work, and equally adorned, but he tells us, that it is usually that part that lies between the fountain and the arched alcove on the South-side, that is thus beautified, supposing that there is but one alcove in a court ; however, it should seem in some other parts of the East there are *several* of these alcoves opening into the court. Maundrell, who calls them duans, in his account of the houses of Damascus, says expressly, that they have *generally* several on all sides of the court, “ being placed at such different
“ points, that at one or other of them, you
“ may always have either the shade, or the
“ sun, which you please ’.”

⁶ P. 5. ¹ P. 125.

Are not these alcoves or duans, of which, according to this, there might be several in the court of the palace of Ahasuerus, what the sacred writer means by the *beds* adorned with silver and gold? Est. i. 6. I shall elsewhere shew, that the bed where Esther was sitting, and on which Haman threw himself, Est. vii. 8, must more resemble the modern oriental duans, or divans, than the beds on which the Romans laid at their entertainments; and consequently it is most natural to understand those beds of these alcoves, or duans, richly adorned with gold and silver, while on the lower variegated pavement carpets were also laid, for the reception of those that could not find a place in these duans; on which pavements Dr. Shaw tells us, they are wont, in Barbary, when much company is to be entertained, to strew mats and carpets².

XIII.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

The houses of Ægypt at this time are never without lights. Maillet assures us¹, they burn lamps, not only *all the night long*, but in *all the inhabited apartments* of an house; and that the custom is so well established, that the *poorest people* would rather retrench part of their food than neglect it.

If we may suppose Maillet's account of the modern use of lamps in Ægypt, is not

² P. 208.¹ Let. 9, p. 10, 11.

only a true representation of what obtained anciently there, but of what was practised in the neighbouring countries of Arabia and Judæa, it will serve to set several passages of Scripture in a light in which *I* never saw them placed.

Jeremiah² makes the taking away the light of the candle and total desolation the same thing. According to our notions however, England did not appear to be an uninhabited country every night in the time of William the Conqueror, though after the curfew-bell rang at eight o'clock there was no light to be seen in any of its houses; but if the present Ægyptian custom obtained anciently in Judæa, it is no wonder that the Prophet makes this a mark of desolation. And, indeed, he has spoken of it in such a manner as hardly to allow us to doubt, upon reading this account of modern Ægypt, but that something of the same sort used to be practised in Judæa.

Job describes the destruction of a family among the Arabs, and the rendering one of their habitations *desolate*, after the same manner. "How oft is the *candle of the wicked* " *put out*, and how oft cometh their *de-* " *struction* upon them?" Job xxi. 17. Bildad makes use of the same thought, ch. xviii. 5, 6. *No light*, indeed, according to d'Arvieux³, was to be seen in the camp of the Arabs that he visited; but it is to be remem-

² Ch. 25. 10, 11.

³ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 180.

bered, that Job and his friends were not Bedouins, and that there is a particular reason why these Arabs choose to have no light seen in their camps—the apprehension that these might betray them to their enemies.

On the other hand, when God promises to give David a lamp always in Jerusalem, which promise is frequently to be met with, if you place it in this point of view, it amounts to this, that the house of David should never become *desolate*, but some of his posterity should always be residing in his royal seat as kings in Jerusalem.

The oil that is commonly used in Ægypt, Maillet tells us in the same place, is not oil of olives, though that is not very scarce there, but the juice of a certain root which grows in the marshes of that country, called Cirika, which looks a good deal like wild fuccory. The oil that is obtained from this plant, he observes, is of a very disagreeable smell, and the light it produces not so beautiful as that of olive-oil; for this reason, people of condition, and those who without being so would distinguish themselves, burn only this last, which is not very expensive.

The Cirika, Maillet apprehends, is peculiar to Ægypt; however, there are other plants which produce oil for burning in different Eastern countries: the oil of the Ricinus in particular, Dr. Russell informs us, serveth for the lamps of the common people of Aleppo⁴.

⁴ P. 19.

If there was some difference anciently, as there is now in Ægypt, between the lamps of the poor and the prosperous, as to the *brightness* and *agreeableness of the scent* of the several kinds of oil that they burnt, it is not impossible that Solomon might refer to that circumstance in these words, “The light of “the righteous *rejoices*” [he useth the brightest-burning and most agreeably-scented kind of oil, he prospers]; “but the lamp of the “wicked shall be put out” [he shall not only be poor, but be destroyed, and his house become desolate]. It may however very possibly refer to the great *number* of lights that the righteous burnt, which might be as numerous almost as those of an illumination in a time of public rejoicing, the families of the wealthy in those countries being extremely numerous, and, according to Maillet, *every* inhabited apartment has a light burning in it; whereas the wicked shall sink in his circumstances, and have hardly a servant to attend him, yea, shall absolutely perish, and his house become desolate.

And now I have had occasion to mention this, it may be thought a subject of enquiry somewhat curious, *how the people of the Levant illuminate their houses*, seeing they have few or no windows that open into their streets⁵. But Thevenot has explained this, who saw a public rejoicing at Cairo for the taking two castles in Hungary⁶; and another

⁵ Shaw, p. 207.

⁶ Part I. p. 241, 242.

at Aleppo, for the birth of the Grand Seignior's eldest son⁷: by these it appears, that they illuminate their houses by placing great numbers of lamps *in* and *before* the gates of the houses.

After the same manner the Jews solemnized the feast of dedication, of which we read John x. 22, (and which from this circumstance, it has been supposed, was called *φῶτα*, or lights,) according to Maimonides: for he says, it was celebrated by the burning a great number of lights that night at the doors of their houses⁸. Maimonides lived in Ægypt, and he speaks according to the practice of that country *certainly*; and *most probably* truly represents the Jewish way of illuminating.

XIV.

OBSERVATION XIX.

If they raised up anciently the walls of their cities so high as not to be liable to be scaled, they thought them safe.

The same *simple* contrivance is to this day sufficient to guard places from the *Arabs*, who live in that very wilderness in which Israel wandered, when the spies discouraged the hearts of the people, by saying, "The cities are great, and *walled up to heaven*," Deut. i. 28, and who are a nation more inured to warlike enterprizes than the Israelites were.

⁷ Part 2. p. 35, 36. ⁸ See Lightfoot's Temple-service.

To say the *height* of the walls, which by a strong eastern way of speaking are said to reach up to heaven, must be *supposed* to have given pain to the people Moses was conducting out of Ægypt, who were by no means qualified to surmount this difficulty, though *among us* it would be very easily overcome, would be a just, but a cold and formal comment on these words, if compared with the liveliness and satisfaction the mind would receive, from the setting down what modern travellers have said about the *present* inhabitants of these deserts, who must be supposed to be as able to overcome any obstruction of this kind, as Israel, when that nation came out of Ægypt, and who are by this means oftentimes prevented from working their will on the inhabitants of these walled places: I shall therefore here set down two or three passages of this kind, as an amusing explanation of the force of this complaint of the spies.

The great monastery at mount Sinai, Thevenot¹ says, “ is well built of good
 “ free-stone, with very high smooth walls ;
 “ on the east-side there is a window, by
 “ which those that were within drew up the
 “ pilgrims into the monastery, with a basket
 “ which they let down by a rope that
 “ runs in a pulley, to be seen above at the
 “ window, and the pilgrims went into it
 “ one after another, and so were hoisted up,

¹ Part I. p. 169, 170.

“ &c.

“ &c.—these walls, he observes in the next chapter, are, “ *so high that they cannot be scaled*, and without cannon that place cannot be taken.

“ The monastery of St. Anthony ⁴ is inhabited, as I have been saying, by religious of the Coptic nation, to whom provisions are sent from time to time. It is a vast inclosure with *good walls*, raised so high as to secure this place from the insults of the Arabs. There is no entrance into it but by a pulley, by means of which people are hoisted up on high, and so conveyed into the monastery ⁵.” By means of these walls these places are impregnable to the Arabs; the Israelites thought the cities of Canaan must be impregnable to them, for they forgot the divine power of their leader.

XV.

OBSERVATION XX.

Vain however would have been the precaution of raising their *walls* to a *great height*, if their *gates* had not been well secured. It cannot however be imagined, that their gates were in common walled up upon the approach of danger, as the gate of the convent of Mount Sinai is constantly kept, never being opened, excepting at the reception of a new Archbishop; and that there was no entrance at such times into their strong

⁴ In Ægypt.

⁵ Maill. Let. 8. p. 321.

cities but by pulleys: there were other methods by which they might, and undoubtedly did, secure them. One of them is, *the plating them over with thick iron*. This they probably practised anciently, it is certain it now obtains in those countries: so Pitts tells us that Algiers hath five gates, and some of these have two, some three other gates within them, and some of them plated all over with thick iron, being made strong and convenient for what it is, a nest of pirates¹.

After this manner the place where St. Peter was imprisoned seems to have been secured, “When they were past the first and second ward, they came unto the *iron-gate* that leadeth unto the city, which opened to them of his own accord,” Acts xii. 10. So Dr. Pococke, speaking of a bridge not far from Antioch, called the Iron-bridge, says², there are two towers belonging to it, the gates of which are covered with iron-plates, which he supposes is the reason why it is called the iron-bridge.

Some of their gates are plated over in like manner with *brass*, such are the vastly large gates of the church of St. John Baptist at Damascus, now converted into a mosque³.

The curious have remarked, that if their gates are sometimes of iron and brass, their *locks and keys* are often of *wood*; and that not only of their *houses*, but sometimes of their *cities* too. Ruffell, I think, makes this remark

¹ P. 10. ² Vol. 2. part 1. p. 172. ³ Maundrell, p. 126.

on the houses of Aleppo, as Rauwolff did long before him. As to those of their cities, Thevenot, speaking of Grand Cairo⁴, says, “ All their locks and keys are of wood, and they have none of iron, no not for their city-gates, which may be all easily opened without a key. The keys are bits of timber, with little pieces of wire, that lift up other pieces of wire which are in the lock, and enter into certain little holes, out of which the ends of wire that are in the key having thrust them, the gate is open. But without the key, a little soft paste upon the end of one’s finger will do the job as well.” Rauwolff⁵ does not speak of the locks and keys of wood in those terms of universality that Thevenot makes use of; he only says, their doors and houses are generally shut with wooden bolts, and that they unlock them with wooden keys. Probably it was so anciently, and that in contradistinction to them we read of cities with walls and *brass bars*, 1 Kings iv. 13; and of breaking in pieces *gates of brass* and *bars of iron*. II. xlv. 2. And according to this there may be something more in the emphasis of the following passage than has been remarked, “ A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city: and their contentions are like the bars of a castle,” not merely hard to be removed on account of their size, but on account of the materials of which they were

⁴ Part I. p. 143.

⁵ P. 23, 24.

made, as not being of *wood*, but of *iron* or *brass*.

What Thevenot observes, of the ease with which their locks are often opened without a key, puts one in mind of those words, Cant. v. 4, "My beloved put in his hand by the hole, and my bowels were moved for him." He attempted, that is, apparently, to open the door by putting in his finger at the key-hole, according to some such method as that described by Thevenot; he attempted, but it did not open, my heart then was greatly moved. But what a strange explanation does Bishop Patrick give of these words, "*He put in his hand by the hole*, i. e. at the window, or casement; as if he would draw her out of bed:" &c. How unacquainted was this good Prelate with some of the customs of the Levant, or at least how inattentive to them in this place, not to say how indelicate! Their houses have few or no windows on the outside, and especially in the lower story, so that what he supposes could be no circumstance in an Eastern poem; but if the Jewish houses had been quite different from those that are now built in those countries, the sacred lover would never have been represented after this manner. What makes it the more strange is, that several commentators, who perhaps were as much unacquainted with the nature of the Eastern buildings as this writer, yet have thought the

words must signify attempting to unlock the door⁶.

The *handles* of the *lock*, spoken of in the next verse, are, I suppose, to be understood of *these wires*; the word signifying in some other places branches, which these wires resemble. To suppose the *myrrh* was used for the same purpose as the *soft paste* Thevenot speaks of, though ineffectually, would be probably thought an excessive refinement; it is sufficient to observe, that he says in the first verse, he had gathered myrrh with other spices, and attempting therefore to open the door with an hand besmeared with this precious gum, the spouse when she went to unlock the door, found that her fingers gathered it up from the *handles of the lock*, and this the strong language of poetry might very well express by, *My hand dropped myrrh, my fingers sweet-smelling myrrh*.

OBSERVATION XXI.

[It is evident in the Scriptures, that besides these cares, they had *watchmen* that used to patrol in their streets: and it is natural to suppose, that they were these people that gave them notice *how the seasons of the night passed away*.

I am indebted for this thought to Sir J. Chardin's MS. He observes in a note on Pf. xc. 4, *that as the people of the East have no*

⁶ Piscator, Mercer, Sanctius, alique, ap. Poli Syn.

clocks,

clocks, the several parts of the day and of the night, which are eight in all, are given notice of. In the Indies, the parts of the night are made known as well by instruments (of music) in great cities, as by the rounds of the watchmen, who with cries, and small drums, give them notice that a fourth part of the night is passed. Now as these cries awaked those who had slept all that quarter part of the night, it appeared to them but as a moment. There are sixty of these people, in the Indies, by day; and as many by night; that is fifteen for each division.

It is apparent the ancient Jews knew *how the night passed away*, which must probably be by some public notice given them: but whether it was by simply *publishing* at the close of each watch, what watch was then ended; or whether they made use of any *instruments of music* in this business; may not be easily determinable. And still less what measurers of time the watchmen made use of.]

OBSERVATION XXII.

XVI.

The numbers that assembled at Jerusalem, must of course consume great quantities of provision. The consumption of *flesh* also must *there* have been much larger, *in proportion to the number of the people*, than elsewhere: because in the East they live in common very much on vegetables, farinaceous food, oil, honey, &c; but at Jerusalem vast quantities of flesh were consumed in their

facred feasts', as well as burnt upon the altar.

Perhaps this circumstance will best explain the holy city's being called *Ariel*, or the *Lion of God*, If. xxix. 1 : an appellation which has occasioned a variety of speculations among the learned. Vitringa, in his celebrated commentary on Ifaiah, supposes that David, according to the Eastern custom, was called the Lion of God, and so this city was called by this name from him ; a solution by no means natural. The Arabs, indeed, in later ages, have often called their great men by this honourable term : d'Herbelot, I think, somewhere tells us, that Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, was so called ; and I am sure he affirms, that Mohammed gave this title to Hamzah², his uncle. It will be readily allowed that this was conformable to the taste of much more antient times : Vitringa's quotation from 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. sufficiently proves this ; to which I would add, Ezra viii. 16. It will be allowed too, that it was no improper title for David, who was so remarkable for his *martial prowess*. But if Ariel signifies David here, and the "Woe to Ariel, to Ariel," is equivalent to *Woe to the city of David, to the city of David*, why is that note of explanation added, by the Prophet himself, "the city where David dwelt?" what is more, will this at all account for the altar's being called Ariel, as it is in Ezek.

¹ Deut. 12. 17, 18. ch. 14. 26.

² P. 427.

xliii. 15³? Is it not proper rather to think of some circumstance that agreed to both which might be the occasion of calling each, *Ariel*? And such, according to the Eastern taste, was the consuming great quantities of provision, and especially of *flesh*.

“The modern Persians will have it,” says d’Herbelot, in his account of Schiraz, a city of that country, “that this name was given to it, because this city consumes and devours like a *lion* (which is called Schir in Persian) all that is brought to it, by which they express the multitude, and it may be the good appetite, of its inhabitants.

The Prophet then pronounces Woe to Zion, perhaps, as too ready to trust to the number of its inhabitants and sojourners, which may be insinuated by this term which he uses, *Ariel*.

And conformably to this interpretation, the threatening, in the last clause of the second verse, may be understood of Jerusalem’s consuming its inhabitants. We read of a land eating up its inhabitants, Numb. xiii. 32. Jerusalem then, which had been called *Ariel* on account of the great quantities of *flesh* consumed there, above all the other cities of Judæa, might be threatened by the Prophet to be called *Ariel*, as consuming its inhabitants *themselves*: a very different sense from the preceding one, and an extremely bitter one.

³ In the *Hebrew*, though it doth not appear in our translation; nor indeed in the marginal reading there.

XVII.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

To those that may wonder how Jerusalem could receive such multitudes, as were obliged by the Jewish law to attend there three times in a year, and as we know did sometimes actually appear in it, I would recite the account that Pitts gives of Mecca, the sacred city of the Mohammedans, and the number of people he found collected together there, for the celebration of their religious solemnities, in the close of the last century.

This city, he tells us, he thought he might safely say, had not *one thousand families* in it of constant inhabitants, and the buildings very mean and ordinary¹. That four caravans arrive there every year, with great numbers of people in each², and the Mohammedans say, there meet not fewer than *seventy thousand souls* at these solemnities; and that though he could not think the number quite so large, yet that it is very great³. How such numbers of people, with their beasts, could be lodged and entertained in such a little ragged town as Mecca, is a question he thus answers. “As for house-
“ room, the inhabitants do streighten them-
“ selves *very much*, in order at this time to
“ make their market.—And as for such as
“ come last, after the town is filled, they

¹ P. 86, 87. note.² P. 84.³ P. 137.

“ pitch their *tents* without the town, and
 “ there abide 'till they remove towards home.
 “ As for provifion, they all bring fufficient
 “ with them, except it be of flefh, which
 “ they may have at Mecca; but all other
 “ provifions, as *butter, honey, oil, olives, rice,*
 “ *bifket, &c,* they bring with them, as much
 “ as will laft through the wildernefs, for-
 “ ward and backward, as well as the time
 “ they ftay at Mecca; and fo for their ca-
 “ mels they bring ftore of provender, &c,
 “ with them⁴.”

The number of Jews that affembled at Jerufalem at their Paffover⁵ was much greater: but had not Jerufalem been a much larger city than Mecca is, as in truth it was: yet the prefent Mohammedan practice of abiding under tents, and carrying their provifions and bedding with them, will eafily explain how they might be accommodated.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

XVIII.

The reafon of the Jews affembling to Jerufalem was the *peculiar bolinefs* of that city. This circumftance occafioned them to make a difference betwixt that and their other towns, in feveral points: the having only fome gardens of rofes, which we have already remark- ed⁶, was one thing; but there were others, which Lightfoot² gives us an account of from Maimonides, and among the reft, they

⁴ P. 87, 88. ⁵ Vide Jofephum, de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. cap. 9. ⁶ Obferv. 11. ² Vol. 2. p. 21.

did not admit of the making of chimnies there, by reason of the smoke.

An inhabited city without chimnies seems to be an oddity, and almost an impossibility. Reland, reciting³ the same peculiarities from the Gemara, instead of chimnies puts lime-kilns. Whether Maimonides, an Ægyptian Rabbi, carried his refinement too far; or a western translator, not knowing what to make of a city without chimnies, supposed lime-kilns must be meant; I shall not take upon me to determine: but I should not wonder to find chimnies were forbidden in Jerusalem, by those that carried their scrupulosity concerning defilement the length the Jewish doctors did, as they are not so necessary in an Eastern city as we of the West are ready to imagine.

I have elsewhere⁴ observed from Dr. Russell, that fires in winter are used but for a little while at Aleppo, which is considerably farther to the North than Jerusalem, and some there make use of *none at all*; to which I would add from the same author, that the fires they *then* use in their lodging-rooms are of *charcoal*, in *pans*. In like manner it appears by Dr. Pococke⁵, that *pans of coals* are the fires that are often made use of *in winter* in Ægypt, for he takes notice of them in more places than one, and mentions the district that furnishes the greatest part of

³ Antiq. Sac. p. 15.
East, vol. 1. p. 82, and p. 85.

⁴ Ch. 1.

⁵ Trav. into the

Ægypt with charcoal, in the eighty-seventh page of his first vol.

What seems most to have required the use of wood, and consequently chimnies, was the dressing the Paschal lambs; for charcoal might, without doubt, be sufficient for their common cookery⁶: if, however, they roasted the lambs of the Passover, as Thevenot tells us⁷ the Persians do *whole sheep* as well as *lambs*, which are not designed for sacred purposes, the use of *smoaky wood* might be avoided; for they do it, he says, in *ovens*, which have the mouth in their tops, into which, after they are well heated, they put the meat, with an earthen dripping-pan underneath to receive the fat; they roast alike on all sides, and he acknowledges that they dress them well. He subjoins another way of roasting a *whole sheep*, practised by the Armenians, by which also the use of *smoaky wood* is avoided; for having flead it, they cover it again with the skin, and put it into an oven upon the *quick coals*, covering it also with a good many of the same coals, that it may have fire under and over to roast it well on all sides, and the skin keeps it from being burnt.

⁶ As Olearius tells us, p. 757, 758, that they are obliged in Persia, on account of their having little wood there, to make use of stoves, or hollow places in the ground of the bigness of a kettle, in which they burn charcoal, and which serve the more frugal for their cooking, and their baking. See also the Arab manner of roasting, in the next chapter.

⁷ Part 2. p. 95.

But

But however these things may be, it is certain this account concerning Jerusalem is in no wise *contradicted*, but rather *confirmed*, by what St. John says of a fire kindled in a palace there, to warm some people who had been out in a cold night, which it seems was a *fire of charcoal*, not of wood, John xviii. 18, and gives a propriety to the mentioning this circumstance, which I never observed remarked in any author. In like manner Paschal *ovens* are also mentioned by Jewish writers.

[Agreeably to what I have been observing, of the nature of the fires at Jerusalem, I find Sir John Chardin, in his MS. notes, supposes the fire that was burning before ⁸ king Jehoiakim, and in which he burnt Jeremiah's roll, was a *pan of coals*. After giving a Latin translation of this passage, which renders the word we translate hearth, *arula*, or a little altar, he goes on, and tells us in French, *This was just as the great warm themselves in winter in Persia, and particularly in Media, and wherever there is no want of wood. The manner in which they sit will not allow them to be near a chimney; in these places therefore of the East they have great brasiers of lighted coals.* It is certain, it is not the common word which signifies *hearth* in the original, but one that doth not appear any where else in the Old Testament.]

⁸ Jer. 36. 22, 23.

OBSERVATION XXV.

XIX.

And now I am engaged in making remarks on the Jewish account of the peculiarities of Jerusalem, I will take the liberty of adding one observation more of this sort, though I do not recollect that any passage of holy writ will be explained by it. It relates to the prohibition, mentioned by Lightfoot in the same place¹, of setting up *scaffolds* against the *wall*, which was forbidden at Jerusalem, as being an holy place. Reland expresses this much more intelligibly, by the term *Meniana Aedium*, which signifies balconies, or something of that sort. But why were they forbidden? It is said, on account of *defilement*: but how balconies, or conveniences of a similar nature, should have been defiling, doth not appear very obvious.

Perhaps the use that is made of balconies, or latticed windows, in their public festivals *at this time* in the Levant, may account for this prohibition. Dr. Shaw will explain this, who, after having observed that the jealousy of the people there admits only of one small latticed window into the street, the rest opening into their own courts, says, “ It is during the celebration only of some *zeena* (as they call a public festival) that these houses and their latticed windows or balconies are left open. For this being a time of

¹ Vol. 2. p. 21.

“ great liberty, revelling, and extravagance,
 “ each family is ambitious of adorning both
 “ the inside and the outside of their houses
 “ with their richest furniture: whilst crowds
 “ of both sexes, dressed out in their best ap-
 “ parel, and laying aside all modesty and
 “ restraint, go in and out where they please.
 “ The account we have, 2 Kings ix. 30, of
 “ Jezebel’s painting her face, and tiring her
 “ head, and looking out at a window,
 “ upon Jehu’s public entrance into Jez-
 “ reel, gives us a lively idea of an Eastern
 “ lady at one of these *zeenabs* or *solemnities*.”
 “ Some of the heathen religious fe-
 stivals were very *lewd*, but great modesty
 was a distinguishing characteristic of the
 Jewish; for that reason, possibly, no Me-
 niana were suffered in the *holy city* of the
 Jews.

XX.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

The great external purity which is so stu-
 diously attended to by the modern Eastern
 people, as well as the ancient, produces some
 odd circumstances with respect to their dogs.

They do not suffer them *in their houses*, and
 even with care avoid their touching them in the
 streets, which would be considered as a *de-
 filement*. One would imagine then, that un-
 der these circumstances, as they do not ap-
 pear by any means to be necessary in their

* P. 207.

cities, however important they may be to those that feed flocks, there should be very few of these creatures found in those places; they are notwithstanding there in great numbers, and crowd their streets. They do not appear to belong to particular persons as our dogs do, nor to be fed distinctly by such as might claim some interest in them, but get their food as they can. At the same time they consider it as right to take some care of them, and the charitable people among them frequently give money every week, or month, to butchers and bakers to feed them at stated times, and some leave legacies at their deaths for the same purpose; this is le Bruyn's account¹. Thevenot and Maillet mention something of the same sort².

In like manner dogs seem to have been looked upon among the Jews in a *disagreeable light*, 1 Sam. xvii. 43, 2 Kings viii, 13; yet they had them in *considerable numbers in their cities*, Pf. lix. 14. They were not, however, shut up in their *houses or courts*, Pf. lix. 6. 14; but seem to have been forced to seek their food where they could find it, Pf. lix. 15; to which I may add, that some care of them seems to be indirectly enjoined to the Jews, Exod. xxii. 31; circumstances that seem to be *more* illustrated by these travellers into the East, than by any commentators that I know of.

¹ Tom. i. p. 361, 362.
Maillet, Let. 9. p. 30.

² Thev. part i. p. 51, 52.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

[The Prophet Ifaiah¹ apparently fupposes, that buildings for the reception of *doves* were common in thofe countries in his time, when he faith, “ Who are thefe that flie as a cloud, “ and as *doves to their windows*.”

Dandini however, the Nuncio to the Maronites, who describes himfelf as very curious in making obfervations on the Eastern countries, tells us, *there are no dove-houfes to be feen in Mount Libanus, nor in all the Levant, though there are an abundance of pigeons, turtle-doves, and all forts of birds*².

Is there then a change in the Eastern managements in relation to this point? There is not. The Nuncio was only not fo careful in making obfervations as he fupposed himfelf to be, or the places in Syria he travelled through unfortunately differed from the reft of that country. “ Kefteen,” fays Maundrell, in the very beginning of his travels, “ is a large plentiful village on the weft fide “ of the plain; and the adjacent fields a- “ bounding with corn, give the inhabitants “ great advantage for breeding pigeons: in- “ fomuch that you find here *more dove-cots* “ *than other houfes*³.”

And as for Ægypt, the tops of all their habitations, in the Southern part of it, are

¹ Ch. 60. 8.² Ch. 10. p. 43.³ P. 3.

always terminated by a *pigeon-house*; and there is in some places a law, which does not permit any man to marry, and to keep house, unless he is in possession of such a dove-house, if we may believe Norden⁴. Dr. Shaw, also, has thought it not right to omit *dove-houses*, when he gave a prospect of an Ægyptian village⁵.

Where Art intervenes not, pigeons build in those *hollownesses* Nature provides for them. I have taken notice, in another work, of this property of these birds⁶, and cited a passage from Dr. Shaw, which informs us, that a certain city in Africa is called Hamam-et, from the Hamam, or *wild pigeons* that copiously breed in the adjoining *cliffs*. The very ingenious as well as honourable William Hamilton, Esq; his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at Naples, who has most laudably joined philosophical enquiries to national cares, has given us another proof of this quality of pigeons; for, in a most curious paper relating to Mount Ætna⁷, which mentions a number of subterraneous caverns there, he tells us one of them was called by the Peasants, La Spelonca della Palomba, from the wild pigeons building their nests therein. Cant. ii. 14. evidently refers to this property, as doth also Jer. xlviii. 28.

⁴ V. 2. p. 20, 21.

⁵ See the plate facing p. 291.

⁶ Outlines of a new Commentary on Solomon's Song, p. 254, 255.

⁷ See Phil. Transf. vol. 60, for 1770.

Though

Though *Ætna* is a *burning mountain*, he found the *cold* in these caverns excessive. This shows that pigeons delight in cool retreats ; and explains the reason why they resort to mountains, which are known to be *very cold*, even in those hot countries. Mount Sinai has been found to be so by travellers, though situated amidst the sultry deserts of Arabia^s. The words of the Psalmist, “ Flee “ as a bird to *your mountain*,” without doubt refer to the flying of doves thither, when frightened by the fowler.

If the mountains are cool, the vallies are extremely hot. Doves are described as often in the vallies however : they are so, Ezek. vii. 16. It should seem this is on account of the waters they find there, in which they delight : so Dr. Russell tells us, when pigeons were employed as posts, they not only placed the paper containing the news under the wing, to prevent its being destroyed by wet, but “ used to bathe their feet in vinegar, “ with a view to keeping them cool, so as “ they might not settle to drink or wash “ themselves, which would have destroyed “ the paper ”. They were fond of the water which they found in the vallies ; but took up their abode, and built their nests, in cavities of the mountains.

Consul Drummond not only confirms the account we have of pigeon-houses in

^s Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 169.

⁹ P. 66.

Syria, but gives us to understand they are *considerable edifices*: for he tells us, “ the vil-
 lage Bellremon makes a tolerable ap-
 pearance at a distance, but when we ap-
 proached it, we found the houses were
mere huts, and that the deception was oc-
 casioned by their *pigeon-houses*, which are
 long, square buildings¹⁰.”]

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

- XXI.

But to come to a conclusion—there is a distinction made in the Prophets between winter and summer-houses, Jer. xxxvi. 22, Amos iii. 15.

The Russian princes used to have their winter and summer-palaces: that nation having had many of the Eastern usages, and even much of their dress, before the new regulations of Peter the Great; but the winter and the summer-houses of the Prophets hardly differed so much from each other as the Russian, I imagine. Probably the account Dr Shaw gives¹ of the country-seats about Algiers, though not applied by him to the illustration of these texts, may better explain this affair. “ The hills and vallies round about Algiers are all over beautified with gardens and country-seats, whither the inhabitants of *better fashion* retire, during the heats of the *summer-season*.”

¹⁰ P. 195. ¹ P. 34.

“ They are *little white houses*, shaded with a
 “ variety of fruit-trees and ever-greens ;
 “ which, besides the shade and retire-
 “ ment, afford a gay and delightful prospect
 “ towards the sea. The gardens are all of
 “ them well stocked with melons, fruit, and
 “ pot-herbs of all kinds ; and, (what is
 “ chiefly regarded in these hot climates,)
 “ each of them enjoys a great command of
 “ water, &c. ”

These are the houses used for retirement from the *beat*, they might with the greatest propriety then be called *summer-houses*. They are built in the *open country*, and are small, though belonging to people of fashion, and as such they explain in the most simple manner the words of Amos, *I will smite the winter-house*, the palaces of the great in fortified towns ; *with the summer-house*, the small houses of pleasure used in the summer, to which any enemy can have access ; *and the houses of ivory shall perish*, those remarkable for their magnificence ; *and the great houses shall have an end*, saith the Lord, those that are distinguished by their amplitude, as well as richness, built as they are in their strongest places, yet shall all perish like their country-seats.

² To which account may be added from Thevenot, p. 275, part 1, that some of these country-houses about Tunis are called *Bardes*, from a Moresco word which signifies *cold*, because of the fresh air about them.

These country-seats this writer tells us³, are taken out of those plains of the Hadjoute and the Mettijah which he elsewhere describes; and informs us in another place⁴, that the locusts of 1724 and 1725, which made their first appearance towards the latter end of March, and were prodigiously increased in numbers by the middle of April, began in May gradually to disappear, and retired into the Metijah and other adjacent plains, where they deposited their eggs, which were hatched in June. These swarms put off their nympha-state, he tells us, in about one month, and soon after were dispersed. This retiring in May into the Metijah, a place full of gardens, and consequently of *hedges* or *walls*, while the rest of the country, used for feeding of cattle and as arable lands, is all open without any inclosures whatsoever, in which point the Holy-Land does and did resemble it, as I shall remark in a succeeding chapter, may, possibly, explain the words of the Prophet Nahum, Ch. iii. 17, “Thy captains (are) as the *great grasshoppers*,” or *locusts*, as the word is *allowed* to signify, “which camp in the hedges in the *cold day*: “but when the sun *arisseth*, they flee away, “and their place is not known where they “are.”

Mr. Lowth, in his comment, supposeth the fleeing away of these insects signifies

³ Shaw, p. 31. ⁴ P. 187.

their shunning the heat of the sun; and it has been queried whether the words cold *day* do not mean the *night*⁵. Had St. Jerome, in whose time the locusts once visited Judæa⁶ in such numbers as to cover the country, and afterwards to produce a pestilence there, by their being cast up on the shore after being drowned in the sea, made such curious observations as a modern philosopher would have done, this place had been perfectly explained; and a fact in particular ascertained, of which Dr. Shaw speaks doubtingly⁷, that is, whether the locusts appear in the Holy-Land at the same time of the year as in Barbary, which is the spring. What Jerome has said however may correct the mistake concerning *their shunning the heat of the sun*, which on the contrary *cheers* them, and is *necessary* to enable them to use their wings with liveliness and activity⁸; a fact which is confirmed by le Bruyn⁹.

Dr. Shaw speaks doubtingly of the time in which the locusts appear in the Holy-Land, and St. Jerome is silent upon the point; but there are some passages in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*¹⁰ which determine that they appear there, at the same time that

⁵ Vide Poli Syn. in loc. ⁶ Vide Com. in Joel. c. 2.
⁷ P. 190. ⁸ Deficientibus enim pennulis, & contractis frigore, etiam locusta confidet—et confidet non in frugifera arbore &c.—sed in sepe—sive in maceria fortuito hinc inde lapide composita. Com. Hier. in Nah. c. 3.
⁹ Tom. 2. p. 503, 504. ¹⁰ P. 424, 427.

they do in Barbary. For Fulcherius Carnotensis tells us there, that an infinite number of locusts came from Arabia, in the year 1114, to the country about Jerusalem, and destroyed the corn at a terrible rate for some days, in the months of April and May; and that an infinite multitude of them, unusually destructive, appeared there in *May* 1117. We may therefore venture to consider Dr. Shaw's account, as descriptive of what happened from time to time in the *Holy-Land*: and consequently in the "day of cold" cannot mean the *night*, for, besides the impropriety of the expression, when the heat of the day cometh they use their wings indeed, and move on, but *others* take their place; whereas the Prophet is speaking of their so fleeing away that *their place is not known*; which can scarcely be understood of any thing less than their *total disappearing*.

On the other hand, it is not easy to suppose that the day of cold means the *depth of winter*, for they do not appear in the *Holy-Land* then; and though in Arabia, from whence Fulcherius supposed they came, there are thickets in some places, and it has been imagined that the locusts lay concealed in them during the winter¹¹, which may be thought to be *their camping in the hedges in the cold day*, yet it is to be observed, that the word translated *hedges* seems rather to mean, precisely speaking, the *walls of a garden*.

¹¹ Voy. le Bruyn, tom. 2. p. 505.

than living fences, and consequently not easily applicable to thickets.

But can the months of April and May be called the *day of cold* in these countries? This may be thought a considerable difficulty. But when I observe, that the same word is made use of to signify that *grateful cooling* that Eglon sought, Judges iii. 20; that these gardens are the places to which the people of the Levant retire for cooling; and that April and May, the time in which, according to Fulcherius Carnotensis, the locusts appear in Palestine, they retire at Aleppo¹² to their gardens; as also that the locusts are brought by *hot winds*, which may be collected from Dr. Shaw¹³ and le Bruyn¹⁴; I am led to think the *day of cold* should rather have been translated the *day of cooling*, the time when people first retire to their summer-houses, or country-seats. And when, says the Prophet, “the sun *arisseth* they flee away,” that is, as I suppose a like expression in James i. 11¹⁵ is to be understood, when the summer advances, they are totally dispersed. And though the sea is now supposed¹⁶, by the Eastern people, to be in common their grave, yet that probably not being known to be the fact, in the time of Nahum, the Prophet says, upon occasion of their disappearing, “that their place is not known where they are.”

¹² Ruffell, p. 135. ¹³ P. 134 and 187. ¹⁴ Tom. 2. p. 152. ¹⁵ See ch. I. ¹⁶ Shaw, p. 188.

I will only farther remark on this subject, that agreeably to their being called by the Prophet *great locusts*, it is observed by some naturalists, that those locusts that appear in such swarms are larger than the locusts that are seen at other times¹⁷: I mention this, because I do not remember to have seen any thing of this sort in the commentators.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Diet of its Inhabitants, &c.

OBSERVATION I.

DR. Shaw informs us¹, that in the cities and villages of Barbary there are public ovens², but that among the Bedo- weens, (who live in tents,) and the Kabyles, (who live in miserable hovels in the mountains,) their bread made into thin cakes, is baked either immediately upon the coals, or else in a Ta-jen, which he tells us is a shallow earthen vessel, like a frying-pan: and he cites the Septuagint, to shew they supposed the pan, mentioned Lev. ii. 5, was the same thing as a Ta-jen.

This account of the Doctor's is curious; but as it doth not give us *all* the Eastern ways of baking, so neither doth it furnish us, I

¹⁷ Lemery (Dict. des Drogues dans Part. Locusta.)
¹ P. 231. ² See also Observation 6.

am afraid, with a *complete* comment on that variety of methods of preparing the meat-offerings, which is mentioned by Moses in that chapter.

So long ago as Queen Elizabeth's time, Rauwolff observed³, that travellers frequently baked bread in the deserts of Arabia on the ground, heated for that purpose by fire, covering their cakes of bread with ashes and coals, and turning them several times, until they were enough; but that some of the Arabians had in their tents stones, or *copper-plates* made on purpose for baking. Dr. Pococke, very lately, made a like observation⁴, speaking of iron hearths used for the baking their bread⁵.

D'Arvieux

³ Ray's Travels, p. 149, 150.

⁴ Vol. 2. p. 96.

[⁵ The sixth MS. C, mentioning the several ways of baking their bread in the East, describes these iron plates as small and *convex*, a circumstance not taken notice of, I think, by the other travellers I have examined. These plates are most commonly used, he tells us, in Persia, and among the wandering people that dwell in tents, as being the easiest way of baking, and done with the least expence; the bread being as thin as a skin, and soon prepared. Another way (for he mentions four) is by baking on the hearth. That bread is about an inch thick: they make no other all along the Black-Sea, from the Palus-Mæotis to the Caspian Sea, in Chaldæa, and in Mesopotamia, except in towns. This he supposes is owing to their being woody countries. These people make a fire in the middle of a room, when the bread is ready for baking, they sweep a corner of the hearth, lay the bread there, cover it with hot ashes and embers; in a quarter of an hour they turn it: this bread is very good. The third way is that which is common among us. The last way, and that which is common

D'Arvieux mentions⁶ another way, used by the Arabs about Mount-Carmel, who sometimes bake in an oven, and at other times on the hearth; but have a third method, which is, to make a fire in a great stone pitcher, and when it is heated, they mix meal and water, as we do to make paste to glue things together with, which they apply with the hollow of their hands to the outside of the pitcher, and this extreme soft paste spreading itself upon it, is baked in an instant. The heat of the pitcher having dried up all the moisture, the bread comes off as *thin as our wafers*; and the operation is so speedily performed, that in a very little time a sufficient quantity is made.

Maimonides⁷ and the Septuagint differ in their explanation of Lev. ii. 5, for that Ægyptian Rabbi supposes this verse speaks of a flat plate, and these more ancient interpreters of a Ta-jen. But they both seem to agree that these were two of the methods of preparing the meat-offering: for Maimonides supposes the seventh verse speaks of a

mon through all Asia, is thus: they make an oven in the ground, four or five feet deep, and three in diameter, well plaistered with mortar. When it is hot, they place the bread (which is commonly long, and not thicker than a finger), against the sides: it is baked in a moment. *Ovens*, he apprehends, were not in use in Canaan, in the patriarchal age. All the bread, of that time, was baked upon a plate, or under the ashes: that mentioned Gen. 18. 6. was of this last sort. The shew-bread he supposes was of the same kind.]

⁶ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 192, 193.

⁷ See Patrick upon Lev. 2. 5.

frying-

frying-pan or Ta-jen ; whereas the Septuagint, on the contrary, thought the word *there* meant an hearth, which term takes in an iron or copper plate, though it extends farther. Both then agree in the things, though their explanations of the Hebrew words differ ; and these two methods answer, the Arab way of baking on a *copper-plate* mentioned by Rauwolff, and baking in a Ta-jen which Dr. Shaw gives an account of.

The meat-offerings of the fourth verse answer, as well the Arab bread baked by means of their *stone-pitchers*, which are used by them for the baking of *wafers* ; as their *cakes* of bread, mentioned by d'Arvieux, who describing the way of baking among the modern Arabs, after mentioning some of their other methods, says they bake their best sort of bread, either by heating an *oven*, or a *large pitcher* half full of certain little smooth shining flints, upon which they lay the dough, spread out in form of a thin broad cake⁸.

The mention of wafers seems to fix the meaning of Moses to these oven-pitchers, though perhaps it may be thought an objection, that this meat-offering is said to have been baked in *an oven* : but it will be sufficient to observe, the Hebrew words only signify a meat-offering *of the oven* ; and consequently may be understood as well of *wafers* baked *on the outside* of these oven-pitchers,

⁸ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 194.

as of *cakes* of bread baked in them. *And if thou bring an oblation of a meat-offering, a baked thing of the oven, it shall be an unleavened cake of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened wafers anointed with oil*'.

Whoever then attends to these accounts of the Arab stone-pitcher, the Ta-jen, and the copper-plate or iron-hearth, will enter into this second of Leviticus, I believe, much more perfectly than any commentator has done, and will find in these accounts what answers perfectly well to the description Moses gives us, of the different ways of preparing the meat-offerings.

A Ta-jen, indeed, according to Dr. Shaw¹⁰, serves for a *frying-pan* as well as for a *baking-vessel*; for he says, the Bagreah of the people of Barbary differs not much from our pan-cakes, only that instead of rubbing the Ta-jen, or pan in which they fry them, with butter, they rub it with soap to make them honey-comb. Moses possibly intended a meat-offering *of that kind* might be presented to the Lord; and our translators seem to *prefer* that supposition, since though the margin mentions the opinion of Maimonides, the reading of the *text* in the fifth verse opposes a pan for baking, to a pan for frying in the seventh verse. The thought however of Maimonides seems to be most just, as Moses appears to be speaking of different kinds of

⁹ Lev. 2. 4.

¹⁰ Note I. p. 230.

bread only, not of other farinaceous preparations.

In all this it may be observed, that though the precepts of Moses were sufficient for the direction of Israel in their settled state, yet they seem to have a particular relation, to the methods of preparing bread used by those that live in *tents*: and his mentioning *cakes* of bread baked *in* the oven, and *wafers* which are baked *on the outside* of these pitchers in the fourth verse, with bread baked on a plate and in a Ta-jen in the fifth and seventh verses, would incline one to think their meat-offerings were prepared by the Israelites in their own tents, and brought *from thence* and presented to the Lord, rather than that they were baked in an oven, or pan, or on a plate, appointed for that purpose in the court of the tabernacle.

But whether this was so or not, the account these travellers give of the Arab manner of baking on a plate, will make the notion of Jarchi, adopted by Abarbanel, as represented by Bishop Patrick¹¹, appear very odd, “ They suppose there was a vessel in
 “ the temple, which was only flat and broad,
 “ but had no rising on the sides of it: so
 “ that the oil being poured upon it, when
 “ it was set on the fire, ran down and in-
 “ creased the flame, and made the cake
 “ hard.” The one of these was a French,
 and the other a Portuguese Rabbi, I think,

¹¹ On Lev. 2. 5.

and they seem to have as little notion, of explaining the Old Testament by ancient customs that remain in the East, as any Christian commentators whatever.

These oven-pitchers mentioned by d'Arvieux, and used by the modern Arabs for baking cakes of bread in them, and wafers on their outsides, are not the only portable ovens of the East: St. Jerome, in his commentary on Lam. v. 10, describes an Eastern oven as a round vessel of brass, blackened on the outside by the surrounding fire, which heats it within¹². Such an one I have seen used in England. Which of these the Mishnah refers to¹³, when it speaks of the women lending their ovens to one another, as well as their mills and their sieves, I do not know; but the foregoing observations may serve to remove a surprize, that this circumstance may otherwise occasion in the reader of the Mishnah. Every body almost knows that little *portable* hand-mills are extremely common in the Levant, *moveable ovens* are not so well known.

Whether ovens, of the kind St. Jerome mentions, be as ancient as the days of Moses, doth not appear, unless the Ta-jen be used after this manner; but the pitcher-ovens of the Arabs are, without doubt, of that remote antiquity.

¹² Clibanus est coquendis panibus ænei vasculi deducta rotunditas, quæ sub urentibus flammis ardet intrinsecus.

¹³ In tit. Shebiith.

OBSERVATION II.

Dr. Pococke, in describing his journey to Jerufalem, after his landing at Joppa, tells us ' he was conveyed to an encampment of Arabs, who entertained him as well as they could, making him cakes, and bringing him fine oil of olives, in which *they usually dip their bread.*

When he fays *usually*, he means, I presume, when they are *more elegantly* regaled; for the Eastern people often make use of bread with nothing more than falt, or some fuch trifling addition, fuch as fummer-favored and powdered, which, mixed with the falt, is eaten by many of the people of Aleppo, as a relifher of their bread, according to the account of Dr. Ruffell². The Septuagint tranflation of Job vi. 6, feems to refer to the fame practice, when it renders the firft part of that verfe, *Will bread be eaten without falt?*

It is to the fame fort of frugality alfo, I fuppofe, Solomon refers, when he fays, *He that loveth wine and oil fhall not be rich*³. One would have thought the ufing oil with their bread, which answers to our bread and butter, fhould not be thought extravagant; but this account of Dr. Ruffell fhews it is a piece of delicatenefs in the Eaft, the expence of which they frequently avoid.

¹ Vol. 2. p. 5.² P. 27.³ Prov. 21. 17.

I would here produce a passage from St. Jerome[†], in which this is mentioned, as well as a number of other curious circumstances. This father exclaiming, in a letter to Nepotian, against some who abundantly compensated their *seeming* austerities by a *real* delicacy in their way of living, cries out, in words too spirited to be literally translated, to this purpose: *Let your fasts be pure, chaste, simple, moderate, and not superstitious. What signifies it to eat no oil, if you seek those kinds of food that are procured with trouble and difficulty, dried figs, spice, nuts, the fruit of palm-trees, fine flour, honey, pistachios? All the arts of gardening are exhausted, that we may carry our mortifications to such an height as not to eat common bread.—I hear there are some too that, in contradiction to nature, drink no water, as well as eat no bread; but they can swallow little delicate draughts, composed of the juices of divers herbs, and that not in a cup, but a shell.—The severest fast is the confining one's self to bread and water. But because this*

[†] Vol. I. p. 16. Ed. Basil 1565. Sicut tibi pura, casta, simplicia, moderata, et non superstitiosa jejunia. Quid prodest oleum non vesci, et molestias quasdam difficultatesque ciborum querere, carycas, piper, nuccas, palmarum fructus, similam, mel, pistacia? Tota hortorum cultura vexatur, ut cibario non vescamur pane.—Audio præterea quosdam contra rerum hominumque naturam, aquam non bibere, nec vesci pane, sed forbitiunculas delicatas, & contrita olera, betarumque succum non calice sorbere, sed concha.—Fortissimum jejunium est aqua et panis. Sed quia gloriam non habet, et omnes pane et aqua vivimus, quasi publicum et commune, jejunium non putatur.

is not ostentatious, and we all in common live on bread and water, this is reckoned too vulgar for such strictness of fasting as they pretend to.

Nepotian resided in Italy, as appears from the next epistle ; but the writer of this letter lived at Bethlehem, and was blaming in it some monkish pretenders to austerity in those Eastern countries. The frequent making use of oil with bread, is what is referred to here, which, as a delicacy, this austere generation would not be guilty of, though it seems they would make use of cakes made of the finest flour mingled with honey, which Moses speaks of, Lev. ii. 11 ; or composed of almonds, pistachio nuts, &c., for so, I suppose, the words are to be understood : which niceties, perhaps, were not so old as the days of Moses, but certainly as ancient as the days of St. Jerome. What he says of their drink deserveth remark ; but that belongs to another place⁵.

To keep to the consideration of the custom of dipping their bread in oil, it is farther to be remarked, that they make use not only of what is pressed from the olive, in their food, but also of less agreeable kinds of oil, for the sake of cheapness, as both Russell and Maillet assure us. The last in particular tells us, that the poor people of Ægypt use, out of necessity, a sort of oil drawn from a plant called there Cirika ; and the Jews, out of sparingness, make use of it in the prepara-

⁵ Observation 42.

tion of many of their meats, which must make, he observes, a detestable cookery⁶. To these meaner kinds of oil Rab-shakeh seems to refer, 2 Kings xviii. 32, when he promised the Jews a land that should produce the best oil—that of olives.

They make use of oil, and such like things, with their bread, but in different ways. So Dr. Shaw observes, that they break their bread, or cakes, into little bits, and dip them in their oil and vinegar, robb, hatted milk, honey, &c⁷; and Dr. Pococke, in the passage cited at the beginning of this Observation, takes notice of the Arabs dipping their bread in oil of olives, as in another place he mentions their dipping their bread in a syrup called Becmes, which is made by boiling the juice of grapes to a due consistence⁸: but in another place of the same volume⁹, describing his sitting down to eat with one of the Ægyptian Sheiks, he tells us, that a large wooden bowl was placed before them, filled with their thin cakes, broken into very small pieces, and a syrup *mixed* up with it.

But the most extraordinary way of eating things of this kind together, is that, I think, described by Thevenot¹⁰, in his account of the Masrouca of the Arabs, which, he says, is a great regale to them. “ They mingle
“ flour with water in a wooden bowl, which
“ they carry always about with them, and

⁶ Un ragout detestable. Let. 9. p. 11. ⁷ P. 232.

⁸ Vol. 1. p. 58. ⁹ P. 113. ¹⁰ P. 173. part 1.

“ knead it well into a paste ; then they spread
 “ it upon the sand—where the fire was made,
 “ covering it up with hot embers, and live
 “ coals over them ; and when it is baked on
 “ one side, they turn it upon the other :
 “ when it is well baked, they break it into
 “ small pieces, and with a little water knead
 “ it again of new, adding thereto butter,
 “ and sometimes also honey ; they make it
 “ into a thick paste, and then break it into
 “ great pieces, which they work and press
 “ between their fingers, and so feed on them
 “ with delight ; and they look like those
 “ gobbets of paste that are given to geese to
 “ fatten them.”

It may be *fairly* collected, I think, from these things, that the pouring oil on the meat-offering baken in a pan, and broken to pieces, according to Lev. ii. 6, was according to the way of those times, when they would regale their friends in a more elegant manner, and consequently to be done out of respect to the priests of the Lord, to whom they were appropriated, Lev. vii. 9.—That these words of Moses are by no means to be understood, according to what is said ¹¹ to have been the opinion of Abarbanel, of dividing it as it laid baking upon the plate, but of its being afterwards broken in pieces, and presented to the priest after the offerer had poured oil in a due quantity upon the several bits, just as the bowl of bits of bread

¹¹ See Patrick upon Lev. 2. 6.

and fyrup was presented to Dr. Poccocke : if not broken in order to be kneaded again with oil, after the manner of the Mafrouca of the Arabs ; which though *perhaps* not so probable, I would by no means take upon me to affirm doth not come under the description of the law-giver.—And that most probably this direction of the sixth verse is not a peculiarity belonging to that sort of meat-offering, but explanatory of that mingling with oil of the other sorts, which is mentioned in the fourth and seventh verses.

The Eastern people in their preparations use honey, the juice of the grape boiled up to a fyrup, and such like ; but the law of God forbad every thing of this kind, in the meat-offering, limiting them to the use of oil : but the manner of mingling them I should suppose to have been much the same with theirs.

I do not remember that Moses expressly required the use of oil of olives ; but I do not apprehend it would have been lawful for a Jew to have presented meat-offerings with such oils as they *now* frequently use in those countries, and which Maillet thinks must make their viands detestable. The neatness, not to say the magnificence, required in their sacred offices, effectually forbad the use of these sorts of oil. The silence however of Moses doth not seem to have flowed, from the not knowing in his time that oil might be drawn from other vegetables ; for he in

expres terms required oil olive for the lights of the Sanctuary, but rather from their not having at that time been wont to be used in food, only for lights.

OBSERVATION III.

Travellers agree that the Eastern bread is made in small thin moist cakes, must be eaten new, and is good for nothing kept longer than a day. This however admits of exceptions. Dr. Russell¹ of late, and Rauwolff² formerly, assure us that they have *several sorts* of bread and cakes. Some, Rauwolff tells us, done with yolks of eggs, some mixed with several sorts of seeds, as of fiesamum, Romish coriander, and wild garden saffron, which are also strewed upon it: and he elsewhere³ supposes that they prepare biscuits for travelling. Russell also mentions this strewing of seeds on their cakes, and says they have a variety of *rusks and biscuits*. To these authors let me add Pitts⁴, who tells us the biscuits they carry with them from Ægypt will last them to Mecca, and back again.

So the Scriptures suppose their loaves of bread were very small, three of them being requisite for the entertainment of a single person, Luke xi. 5.—That they were *generally* eaten new, and baked as they wanted them,

¹ P. 80, 81.² Ray's Travels, p. 95.³ P. 149.⁴ P. 88.

as appears from the case of Abraham.—That sometimes however they were made so as to keep several days, so the shew-bread was fit food after having stood before the Lord a week.—And that bread for travellers was wont to be made to keep some time, as appears from the pretences of the Gibeonites, Josh. ix. 12; and the preparations Joseph made for Jacob's journey into Ægypt, Gen. xlv. 23.

In like manner too they seem to have had then a variety of eatables of this kind, as the Aleppines now have. In particular some made like those on which seeds are strewed, as we may collect from that part of the present of Jeroboam's wife to the Prophet Ahijah, which our translators have rendered *cracknells*, 1 Kings xiv. iii. Buxtorf's indeed supposes the original word signifies biscuits, called by this name, either because they were formed into *little buttons* like some of our ginger-bread, or because they were pricked full of *holes* after a particular manner. The last of these two conjectures, I imagine, was embraced by our translators of this passage, for *cracknells*, if they are all over England of the same form, are full of *holes*, being formed into a kind of flourish of lattice-work. I have seen some of the unleavened bread of our

⁵ Et buccellata 1 Reg. 14. 3. quæ biscocta vulgò vocant, sic dicta quòd in frustra exigua rotunda, quasi puncta conficerentur, aut quod singulari forma interpunctarentur. Epit. Rad. Heb. p. 514.

English Jews, made in like manner in a network form. Nevertheless, I should think it more natural to understand the word of biscuits *spotted with seeds*: for it is used elsewhere to signify works of gold spotted with studs of silver; and, as it should seem, bread spotted with mould, Josh. ix. 5. 12; how much more natural then is it to understand the word of cakes spotted with seeds, which are so common, that not only Rauwolff and Russell speak of them at Aleppo, but Hanway tells us too that the cakes of bread that were presented to him, at the house of a Persian of distinction, were in like manner sprinkled with the seeds of poppies and other things, than of cracknells, on account of their being full of *boles*! It is used for things that are spotted we know, never in any other place for a thing full of holes. Our translators then do not appear to have been very happy in the choice of the word cracknells here⁶.

As to all particulars of the ancient bread and cake-kind, it may be *difficult* to give an exact account at this distance of time. Ainsworth at least doth not appear to have been successful in a criticism of this sort, which he has given the world in his note on Pf. xxxv. 16. He thinks that as *bread* is used for *all food*, so a cake, (Maghnog,) seems to be used for all *juncates* or *dainty meats*;

⁶ Sir J. Chardin's MS, in like manner, says, *several sorts of bread* are served up in Eastern feasts.

but

but it is used for those cakes Ezekiel was to eat as expressive of the *hardships* of a siege, which were so far from being dainty meats, that they might rather be termed the *bread of affliction*: not to mention other places where nothing of the idea supposed by Ainsworth appears. If we will allow the authority of the Septuagint, it signifies precisely bread baked under the coals and ashes, for they perpetually translate this, and a kindred word, *εγκρυφιας*, and nothing, it is certain, forbids this interpretation. And if so, it is no wonder Ezekiel abhorred the thought of eating bread prepared *after this manner* with human dung. As for the other words, the Septuagint and other Greek interpreters frequently differ in their translations; and even the Septuagint itself sometimes translates the same Hebrew word by different terms, and different Hebrew words by one Greek one: the general meaning however of most of these words may perhaps be ascertained.

Is not *Lebiboth*, in particular, the word that in general means *rich cakes*? A sort of which Tamar used to prepare that was not common, and furnished Amnon with a pretence for desiring her being sent to his house, that she might make some of that kind for him in the time of his indisposition, his fancy running upon them. To make this account more clear, it is requisite to add, from Dr. Pococke's travels, that the women of the East, though they be very great persons, do

themselves prepare dinner in their own apartments, or at least inspect and direct it⁷: it appears, from the case of Tamar, it was so anciently.

De Dieu seems to be as unhappy in his differing from the Septuagint, as to the meaning of the word Gnuggah, in Hosea vii. 8⁸, as Ainsworth. He gives us from Golius, an eye-witness, much such an account of the Arab pitchers for baking, as I have done from d'Arvieux, and he supposes *Gnuggah* signifies a wafer baked on the outside of one of these earthen vessels, and fancies its name is expressive of its concavo-convex form, derived from an Arabic word: very unlucky this! especially to be mentioned in this text, which speaks of a Gnuggah not turned; for Golius, (even according to this gentleman,) as well as d'Arvieux, informs us these wafers are baked almost instantaneously, but the *εγυρσεις* of the Septuagint is turned over and over again. Rauwolff's account of them has been cited by authors, but must be repeated here, as it gives us the best comment on these words of Hosea. "The woman was not idle neither," speaking of his entertainment in the tent of a Curter on the other side the Euphrates, "but brought us milk and eggs to eat, so that we wanted for nothing; she made also some dough for cakes, (which were about a finger thick, and about the bigness of a tren-

⁷ Vol. I. about p. 182.

⁸ Vide Poli Syn. in loc. cher,

“ cher, as is usual to do in the wildernesses,
 “ and sometimes in towns also,) she laid
 “ them on hot stones, and kept them a turn-
 “ ing, and at length she flung the ashes and
 “ embers over them, and so baked them
 “ thoroughly. They were very good to eat,
 “ and very favourable.”

Loaves are also sometimes made of barley, but they are only used by people in distress¹⁰. The common use of that grain is for feeding horses: it was so anciently, 1 Kings iv. 28. If then Boaz (a mighty man of wealth) made a present to Ruth of barley, after he had made a declaration very much in her favour, it may be understood to be owing to the preceding great scarcity of corn in that country at that time, and Naomi's returning in the beginning of barley-harvest, and before any wheat was reaped; consequently the grain presented must almost necessarily be barley, and after such a dearth might be a very acceptable and honourable present. In like circumstances, loaves of barley were not thought an improper present to be made to an eminent Prophet, 2 Kings iv. 42.

However, it may be farther observed, that as the preceding famine might make barley for loaves very acceptable to Naomi; so there are *other preparations* of it that are used in the East, in the most plentiful times, and even presented to persons whom they would treat

¹⁰ Ray's Travels, tom. I. p. 185, 186.
 p. 35, 208.

¹¹ See Pitts,

with

with respect. So Dr. Pococke, describing "a supper that was sent him by a person of distinction in Ægypt, (an Aga,) mentions, along with the pilaw, the goat's flesh boiled and well peppered, and the hot bread, *a soup of barley*, with the husk taken off like rice¹².

OBSERVATION IV.

[The time for *grinding their corn* is the morning: which consideration makes the Prophet's selecting the noise of mill-stones¹, and lighting up of candles, as circumstances belonging to inhabited places, appear in a view which no Commentators, that I have examined, have taken any notice of.

I am indebted to Sir John Chardin's MS for the knowledge of this fact. It informs us that *in the East they grind their corn at break of day; and that when one goes out in a morning, one hears every where the noise of the mill; and that it is the noise that often awakens people*².

It has been commonly known that they bake every day, and that they usually grind their corn as they want it; but this passage informs us, that it is the first work done in a *morning*, as well as that this grinding of their mills makes a considerable noise, and attracts every ear; and as the lighting up of candles begins the *evening*, there is an *agreeable contrast* observable in these words: "Moreover,

¹¹ Vol. I. p. 122, 123.

¹² See also Observation IX.

¹ Jer. 25. 10.

² In a note on Luke 12. 42.

“ I will take from them the voice of mirth,
 “ and the voice of gladness, the voice of the
 “ bridegroom, and the voice of the bride,
 “ *the sound of mill-stones, and the light of the*
 “ *candle.* And their whole land shall be a
 “ desolation,” &c. *Gloomy shall be the silence*
of the morning, melancholy the shadows of the
evening, no chearful noise to animate the
one, no enlivening ray to soften the gloom
*of the other*³. Desolation shall every where
 reign.

A land may abound with habitations, and
 furnish an agreeable abode, where the voice
 of mirth is not heard—none of the songs, the
 music, and the dances, of nuptial solemnities;
 but in the East, where no mill-stones
 are heard in the morning⁴, no light seen
 in the evening, it must be a dreary dismal
 solitude.

This earliness of grinding corn makes the
 going of Rechab and Baanah⁵, to fetch wheat

³ See Ch. 3. Obf. 18. ⁴ Sir J. Chardin, in another
 note of his MS (his note on Rev. 18. 22,) supposes, that
 songs are made use of when they are grinding. It is very
 possible, then, that when the sacred writers speak of the
 noise of the mill-stones, they may mean not the noise made
 by the mills, but the noise of the songs of those that worked
 them: so Chardin understood the words of St. John, Rev.
 18, 22; and so consequently may Jeremiah be understood;
 and it is certain this is the noise Chardin meant, when he
 mentioned the noise of grinding in a morning. His words are,
The noise of a mill-stone, that is to say, the voice and songs of
those that grind. The people of the East commonly make use of
hand-mills and those that grind sing. From hence one
 hears a great noise in great cities. ⁵ 2 Sam. 4. 2—7.

the day before from the palace, to be distributed to the soldiers under them, each one his portion, for grinding early in the morning, very natural⁶. It appears from the history of David⁷, that princes indulged themselves on their beds 'till the coolness of the evening began to come on, and the corn to be distributed to the soldiers must of course be had the day before grinding: their coming then for corn, while Ithbosheth was still indulging, had nothing suspicious in it; and I must think the reading of our present Hebrew copies more natural than that the Septuagint made use of, if they kept close to their copy. The Ægyptian women are, indeed, very curious in cleaning their wheat before they grind it, according to Monsieur Maillet⁸; and it is not very wonderful, if the female servants of an ancient Jewish prince might make use of *something of the like care*; a female might be employed, possibly, as a *porter*⁹, and at the same time have some care about preparing corn for grinding: but, cer-

⁶ It is still the custom in the East, to allow their soldiers a certain quantity of meat, bread, butter, rice, and corn, per day, Dr. Perry tells us, p. 43, as well as some pay.

⁷ 2 Sam. 11. 2. ⁸ "It may not be disagreeable to you
 " to see, with what care they prepare their corn (for mak-
 " ing it into bread) in the houses of people of any distinc-
 " tion. They examine it first grain by grain; they af-
 " terwards wash it in several waters, and dry it in the shade;
 " after which they rub it between two cloths, before
 " they carry it to the mill. One may easily imagine
 " what neatness and delicacy must attend the bread made of
 " such flour." Lett. 9. p. 8. ⁹ John 18. 17.

tainly,

tainly, in such a case there could be no necessity for the sacred historian to mention this part of her employment, along with her sleeping, her slumbering was abundantly sufficient; yet, according to the Septuagint, all this is mentioned, the sixth verse, according to them, being, “ And behold, the female porter of the house was cleaning wheat; and she nodded, and was sleeping. And the brethren, Rechab and Baanah,” &c.

It is remarked, in another place of this MS, that they are female *slaves* that are generally employed in the East at these hand-mills; that it is extremely laborious, and esteemed the *lowest*¹⁰ employment in the house; about which they set their black servants only, and those that are the *least fit* for any thing else. He remarks, that most of their corn is ground by these *little mills*; that he did not remember to have seen any *wind-mills* in the East, but that he had seen *water-mills*, particularly at Ispahan, and some of the other great cities of Persia; and that they sometimes make use of *large* mills wrought by *oxen or camels*.

OBSERVATION V.

By the law of Moses, there was no *leaven* of any kind to be suffered in the houses of the Israelites, for seven or eight days¹; this might have been a considerable inconvenience in

¹⁰ Exod. 11. 5. ¹ Exod. 12. 15, 19.

Great Britain, but was none at all in Palestine.

For the MS. C. assures us, they use *no kind of leaven whatever* in the East², but *dough kept till it is grown sour*, which they keep from one day to another: if then there should be no leaven in all the country for some days, in twenty-four hours some would be produced, and they would return to their preceding state.]

IV. OBSERVATION VI.

If some of the Eastern ways of baking have surpris'd us, we shall be as much struck with their fuel. Wood is so scarce in those countries, that they make use of things that we do not think of, though little firing is burnt there, in comparison of what is consumed in colder countries.

Many travellers have taken notice of this. Dr. Ruffell in particular tells us, that at Aleppo they use wood and charcoal in their rooms, but heat their baths with cow-dung, the *parings of fruit*, and such like things, which they employ people to gather for that purpose¹. If these things are confined to the heating of baths at Aleppo, they are not in other places; for Pitts telleth us² there is such a scarcity of wood at Grand Cairo, that they *commonly* heat their *ovens* with horse or *cow-dung*, or *dirt* of the streets,

² Yet in wine countries it should seem by this writer they use the lees of wine as we do yeast. ¹ P. 7. ² P. 104.

what

what wood they have being brought from parts adjoining to the Black-Sea, and sold by weight.

D'Arvieux in like manner³, complaining that one sort of the Arab bread smells of smoke, and tastes of the *cow-dung* used in baking it, informs us that the *peasants* often make use of the same fuel too, and that all who live in villages where there is not plenty of wood, are very careful to *stock* themselves with it; the children, he says, gather up the dung, and clap it against a *wall* to dry, *from whence* the quantity that is necessary for baking, or warming themselves, is taken from time to time⁴.

But if this kind of turf is sometimes left sticking to the wall untill it is used, in some of the villages of Palæstine, it is not to be supposed that it continues there *the rainy season*; much less can we suppose *the walls of the houses at Grand Cairo* are thus ornamented: doubtless this *stock* of firing is laid up in some *out-house*, or other convenient *place*, as the same sort of fuel is by those of the

³ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 193, 194. ⁴ [Sir J. Chardin in his MS. tells us, *the Eastern people always used cow-dung for baking, boiling a pot, and dressing all kinds of viands that are easily cooked; especially in countries that have but little wood. As for the Indians they use it for another reason: namely, lest in dressing their food with wood, some worm or insect should be destroyed, of whose death they would become guilty; for this cause in the Indies they bring carts-full of dried cows-dung to sell, for this creature they believe to be the holiest of all, and much better than man.*]

poor people of this country who make use of it.

This I have thought may, possibly, serve to explain the complaint of Jeremiah, Lam. iv. 5. "They that did feed delicately, are desolate in the streets: they that were brought up in scarlet, *embrace dunghills.*" This taking refuge in dunghills is not mentioned in European descriptions of the horrors of war; but if they in the East burnt *dung* anciently, as much as they do now, and preserved a *stock* of it with the solicitude of these times, it will appear quite natural to complain that those that had fed delicately, were wandering without food in the ways; and they that had been covered, not only with clean garments, but with robes of magnificence, were forced, by the destruction of their palaces, to take up their abode in places designed for the reception of this *sort of turf*, and to sit down upon those heaps of *dried dung*.

There is a passage in Philo which may be illustrated by this account, and in return serves to confirm the explanation I have given. That author, in his book against Flaccus the president of Ægypt, complaining of the injuries done the Jewish nation in that country, tells us that Alexandria was divided into five parts; that two of them were called the Jewish wards, because mostly inhabited by Jews, who dwelt also, though scatteringly, in the other divisions; that

that Flaccus suffered their enemies to expel the Jews out of four of these, and to force them all into one single quarter, and that the smallest, which not being able to contain them on account of their multitude, many of them were forced to go out of the city, to the *shores, monuments, and dunghills*; that their enemies spoiled their houses from which they had driven them, and finding no body opposed them, broke open their *shops* too, carrying away every thing they found there⁴.

This passage is full of references to *Eastern* customs. How far the editors of Philo have explained them, I know not, my edition has few or no notes; but it is very certain this account, if considered with attention, must be puzzling to those that are strangers to the customs of the East. Dr. Shaw observes⁵, that among the Moors the graves of the principal citizens have cupolas, or vaulted chambers, of three, four, or more yards square, built over them, and that they frequently lie open, and afford an *occasional shelter* from the inclemency of the weather: this circumstance explains, he supposeth, the Dæmoniac's dwelling among the tombs (Mark v. 3); and is equally a comment, on that part of Philo's account which speaks of the Jews going for shelter, out of the city, to the *monuments*. A passage in Norden explains another as happily, which I was, I must confess, quite at a loss to ac-

⁴ P. 973. Ed. Francofurt. 1691.

⁵ P. 219.

count for 'till I read that author: "What
 " we have mentioned," says that Danish
 gentleman, "is too barren a spot to conti-
 " nue there any longer. It is better to cast
 " our eyes on those little *hollow places of the*
 " *shore*, which they made use of for agree-
 " able retreats; where they diverted them-
 " selves with enjoying the cool air; and
 " from whence, without being seen, but
 " when they chose it, they saw every thing
 " that passed in the port. Some rocks that
 " jut out, furnished a charming situation;
 " and natural grottos, which those rocks
 " had made, gave the opportunity of form-
 " ing there, with the assistance of the chif-
 " fel, real places of pleasure. In effect, we
 " find entire apartments made in this man-
 " ner, &c. All these agreeable retreats,
 " *which are in great number*, have, however,
 " no other ornament. The places, where
 " the chiffel has passed, are smooth; but
 " the rest has the natural shape of the rock."
 " As to the third thing, *their repairing to dung-*
hills, it can only be understood, I think, in
 the manner I have given an account of⁷.

After this every one will see the propriety
 of that passage, (1 Sam. ii. 8,) "He raiseth

⁶ P. 22, 23. vol. 1.

⁷ The Eastern management Philo refers to, in the other part of this passage, is what several authors have agreed in, that their houses are *at a distance* from their shops, which shops are ranged on each side of a *covered street*, which they call a Bazar, shut up by a gate at each end. In these shops they sell, and manufacture their goods.

“ up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth
 “ up the beggar *from the dunghill*, to set
 “ them among princes, and to make them
 “ inherit the *throne of glory*.” He raiseth
 the beggar from the dunghill, *out of a cottage*,
 that is, *in which heaps of dried dung are piled
 up for fuel, as some of the worst accommo-
 dated of our poor practise with respect to the
 turf of this country; or rather, he raiseth up
 a poor exile, forced to beg his bread in his wan-
 derings, and to lodge in some out-house where
 dung is laid up, out of the city, in order to set
 him on the throne of a royal palace built in the
 midst of it.*

The applicableness of this account, con-
 cerning the *frequent burning of dung* in the
 East, to the case of Ezekiel⁸, is much more
 visible. Commentators have observed some-

S 2

thing

⁸ Ch. 4. [Monsieur Voltaire seems to be extremely scan-
 dalized at this circumstance, for he has repeated the objec-
 tion over and over again in his writings. He supposes some-
 where that the denying the Providence of God is extreme
 impiety; yet in other places he supposes the prophetic inti-
 mation to Ezekiel, that he should prepare his bread with
human dung, as expressive of the hardships Israel were a-
 bout to undergo, could not come from God, being incompat-
 ible with his Majesty: God then, it naturally follows, never
 did reduce by his Providence any poor mortals into such a
 state, as to be obliged to use human dung in preparing their
 bread; never could do it: but those that are acquainted
 with the calamities of human life will not be so positive, upon
 this point, as this lively Frenchman. To make the ob-
 jection as strong as possible, by raising the disgust of the
 elegant part of the world to the greatest height, he, with his
 usual *ingenuousness*, supposes the *dung was to be eaten with
 the bread prepared after this manner*, which would form an
 admirable

thing of it, but I do not remember to have met with any who have throughly entered into the spirit of the divine command; they only coldly observe, that several nations make use of cow-dung for fuel. He was first enjoined to make use of *human* dung in the preparation of his food, though at length the Prophet obtained permission to use *cow-dung*, for the baking that bread which was to be expressive of the miserable food Israel should be obliged to eat, in their dispersion among the Gentiles: had this been ordered at first, it would by no means have sufficiently expressed those *necessities*, and that *filthiness in their way of living*, to which they were to be reduced; for very many of the Eastern people very commonly use cow-dung in the baking of their bread; therefore he was ordered to make use of human dung, which was terribly significant of the extremities to which they were to be reduced. No

admirable confection, *Comme il n'est point d'usage de manger de telles confitures sur son pain, la plupart des hommes trouvent ces commandemens indignés de la Majesté divine.* (La Raïson par Alphabet, Art. Ezechiel.) The eating bread baked by being covered up under *such embers* would most certainly be great misery, though the ashes were swept and blown off with care; but they could hardly be said to eat a *composition* of bread and human excrements. With the same kind of liberty he tells us that *cow-dung* is sometimes eaten through all Desert-Arabia, (Lettre du Traducteur du Cantique des Cantiques,) which is only true as explained to mean nothing more than that their bread is, not unfrequently, baked under the embers of cow-dung: but is eating bread so baked eating cow-dung?]

nation made use of that horrid kind of fuel, whereas the other was very common, though it is not very agreeable for the purpose, the bread so baked being burnt, smoky, and disagreeably tasted.

If *cow-dung* was very much in use in Palestine for fuel, as we have reason to think *wood* was not more plentiful there anciently, (when the country was much fuller of inhabitants,) than it is now, its extreme *slowness* in burning must make the *quickness* of the *fire of thorns* very observable, and give a *liveliness* to that passage, *As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool*⁹, and to some other places, which has not been, I think, duly observed. The *contrast* is extremely remarkable. La Roque, taking notice of the excessive slowness of the one¹⁰, informs us, that it is a *common* thing among the Arabs, on this account, to threaten a person with burning him with cow-dung, when they would menace him with a dreadfully-lingering punishment; on the other hand, every one must be apprized of the *short-lived* violence of the fire of *thorns*, furze, and things of that kind; but to make the thought complete, it is requisite to add, that cow-dung, this very slow fuel, is that which is *commonly* used; thorns, &c, less frequently.

But when they do use this latter kind of fuel, it seems to be under their *pots*, which

⁹ Ecclef. 7. 6.

¹⁰ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 44. note.

farther illustrates the expression, and accounts for the *particularity* that appears in the mentioning of pots, as it seems otherwise to have been sufficient to have said in general, *as the crackling of thorns so is the laughter of the fool*. And 'till this thought occurred, I must confess, I did not know what to make of that account of d'Arvieux, when, in describing the Arab methods of dressing their food, he tells us, they sometimes put a whole lamb, or kid, into a kettle, covered up close, over a *fire of vine twigs*¹¹, &c. I could not conceive why he should mention the sort of fuel they made use of with such precision; why vine-twigs rather than any other sort of wood? why any thing more than the word *fire* in general? The true reason of this particularity I have since thought, is, that the fuel he saw used almost universally among them, was cow-dung, but that a quicker fire being necessary for the stewing a whole lamb or kid, he saw them make use of wood upon that occasion, and it happening to be vine-twigs, he set it down in his papers; from whence la Roque, not distinguishing between the *simplicity of private memorandums*, and what is fit to be published in an *extract* drawn from them, mentions this particular circumstance, though without doubt a fire of thorns, furze, or any other quick-burning sort of fuel, would have done as well. It serves however to illustrate the

¹¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 198.

words of the royal preacher, as well as Pf. lviii. 9. and Job xli. 31: cow-dung, a very slow faint fire, being used for fuel very commonly; but thorns, or something of that kind, often for boiling.

[In like manner Sir John Chardin observes, in his MS. note on Pf. lviii. 9, *that on account of the scarcity of wood, they burn most commonly in Persia beath, &c, and that these substances are wont to crackle; and that they use thorns to make their pot boil.* He cites also Amos iv. 11. and Zech. iii. 2, as well as Ecclef. vii. 6, as having some relation to this Observation. If I comprehend his thought, which is indeed expressed in a very short manner, he supposes the Prophets, in the two first places, compare those of whom they were speaking, to such *small twigs*, as must in a few minutes have been consumed, had they not been snatched out of the burning, and not to those battens, or *large branches of great trees*, we are wont to burn in these northern countries, and which will lay long on the fire before they are reduced to ashes. And it must be confessed the image, considered after this manner, is much more strong and lively than otherwise it would be.

The same thought is applicable to Is. vii. 4: only there these slender firebrands are supposed to be *smoking*; that is, as I apprehend, having the steam rising from one end with force, from the violence of the fire burning at the other, which, in such a state, must

soon reduce them to ashes. How lively the image! *The remains of two small twigs, burning with violence at one end, as appears by the strong steaming of the other, sure therefore soon to disappear, reduced into ashes: so shall these two kings soon be no more.* The curious Votringa sadly fails, I think, in his explanation of this metaphor.]

As they have such a *scarcity of fuel*, they make use not only of cow-dung, but of *parings of fruit*, at Aleppo, Dr. Ruffell tells us¹², and *such like things*: doubtless he means withered *stalks* of herbs and flowers. Indeed, he only speaks of these things as used for heating their baths; but as cow-dung is, we know, by other authors, used for baking, no reason, sure, can be imagined, why these other things should not be used for the same purpose, where they were to be had: and Dr. Shaw, I remember, expressly tells us¹³, that myrtle, rosemary, and other plants, are made use of in Barbary, to heat their *ovens*, as well as bagnios. Doth not this give us a clear comment on those words of our Lord, Matt. vi. 28, 29, 30? “ Consider the *lilies* of
 “ the field how they grow; they toil not,
 “ neither do they spin. And yet I say unto
 “ you, that even Solomon, in all his glory,
 “ was not arrayed like one of these. Where-
 “ fore, if God so clothe the *grass* of the field,
 “ which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast
 “ into the *oven*, shall he not much more

¹² P. 7. ¹³ P. 85.

“ clothe

“ clothe you, O ye of little faith ?” The grafs of the field here apparently is to be underftood to include the lilies of which our Lord had been fpeaking, confequently herbs in general : Critics have remarked this large fenfe of the word *χρῶσις*¹⁴ ; nor can it be with any fhew of reafon pretended, that our Lord is fpeaking of the morrow in the rigid fenfe of the word, (the day immediately following,) but of a little time after. *Behold, fays our Lord, thefe lilies of the field, how beauteous are their veftments, how exquisitely are they perfumed. Solomon in all his glory was not thus arrayed, thus perfumed ! yet magnificent as they appear one day, they are in a manner the next thrown into the oven—their dried stalks are, with the dried stalks of other plants, employed in beating the ovens of the villages round about us ; and will not God much more clothe you that are my difciples ?*

This account of the burning thefe things may, perhaps, be of fome ufe to throw light on thofe paffages of the Mifnah¹⁵, which fpeak of favoury, hyffop, and thyme, under the notion of wood ; or of gathering the leaves of vines and reeds, both green and dry, which dry leaves of vines can hardly be fupposed to have been gathered with any other defign than for fuel. But of how little confequence foever the illustrating the Mifnah may be thought to be, the obser-

¹⁴ See Leigh’s Crit. Sac. upon the word. ¹⁵ Vide Mifnam in tit. Shebiith.

vation will not be unacceptable to an attentive reader of his Bible, especially if he should remark, how much ingenious authors have been embarrassed with this passage of St. Matthew. One of them in particular, after having changed the word *oven*, in his translation, into the word *furnace* or *still*, gives us this note¹⁶. “ I apprehend that “ this may be as properly the signifi- “ cation of the word κλιβανον, as oven, and “ that the sense will then appear to be more “ easy ; for it can hardly be supposed, that “ *grafs*, or *flowers*, should be thrown into “ the oven, the day after they are cut down ; “ unless it was the custom to heat their “ *ovens* with new *hay*, which seems not very “ natural.” Not very natural indeed, were *hay* made in those countries, which we are assured *by authors in general* is seldom or never done ! nor doth it seem much more natural to me to throw *grafs* into a *still*, if it could be proved that the Greek word signifies a still as well as an oven. And I am afraid that even as to *flowers* themselves, from many of which the Eastern people at this time distill various odoriferous waters, and might do the same anciently, the thought would not be very conformable to the views of our Lord, and consequently not what he meant : for his sentiment here, without controversy, is, that if God covers with so much *glory* things of no farther value than to serve the

¹⁶ See Dod. Fam. Exp. vol. 1. p. 256.

meanest uses, will he not take care of his servants who are so *precious* in his eye, and designed for such *important services* in the world? consequently he cannot be supposed to be speaking of *precious flowers*, distilled either for *medicinal* purposes, or to make *rich perfumes*; but of those of which men make no higher use, than they do of *cow-dung* and *stubble*.

OBSERVATION VII.

V.

This scarcity of fuel occasions another particular management among the Eastern people, of which Rauwolf gives us the following account: "They make in their tents
 " or houses an hole about a foot and a half
 " deep, wherein they put their earthen pip-
 " kins or pots, with the meat in them closed
 " up, so that they are in the half above the
 " middle: three fourth parts thereof they
 " lay about with *stones*, and the fourth part
 " is left open, through which they fling in
 " their dried dung, (and also sometimes small
 " twigs and straws, *when they can have them*,)
 " which burn immediately, and give so great
 " an heat, that the pot groweth so hot as
 " if it stood in the middle of a lighted coal-
 " heap, so that they boil their meat with a
 " little fire, quicker than we do ours with
 " a great one on our hearths'.

' P. 192.

As the Israelites must have had as much cause to be sparing of their fuel as any people, and especially when they were journeying in the wilderness, the preceding quotation may be believed to be a better comment on Lev. xi. 35, than is to be found in any of the writings of those that are called commentators. One of these² supposes the word translated *ranges for pots* signifies an earthen pot to boil meat in *with a lid*, another gives it *feet*: but such vessels come under the direction of the thirty-third verse. Nor doth the original word requiring its destruction agree with these explications; for it doth not signify to destroy by breaking to pieces as a vessel is broken, but by breaking down, as altars, houses, walls of cities, &c, are broken down and destroyed. This perfectly agrees with Rauwolff's description of the Eastern apparatus for boiling a pot, which though not expressed in the happiest manner by his translator, yet is thus far sufficiently clear, *three fourth parts thereof*, says he, *they lay about with stones*, which little building this law of Moses required to be broken down. How clear is this! What idea our English translator of Leviticus designed to convey, by the term *ranges for pots*, I do not well know, but something distinct from a pot was evidently designed; and though it might be thought strange that any thing of building should be used, by those that

² Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

lived such a flitting kind of life as the Israelites in the wilderness, for the boiling their pots, yet we find by Rauwolff the Arabs make use of such an apparatus, and he gives us some description of it.

OBSERVATION VIII.

VI.

But though an oven was designed only to serve a single family, and to bake for them no more than the bread of one day, in ancient times, which circumstance ought to be recollected in order to enter into the force of Lev. xxvi. 26, and is an usage that still continues in some places of the East; yet it should seem that there were anciently, as there now are, some public bake-houses. So we read of the *bakers-street*, Jer. xxxvii. 21. This might *possibly* be only a *temporary* regulation to supply the wants of the soldiers, assembled from other places to defend Jerusalem, who might receive daily a proper quantity of bread from the royal bake-houses; as at Algiers, at this time, according to Dr. Shaw¹, besides some money, their soldiers *that are unmarried* receive each of them a number of loaves every day. And if so, nothing could be more natural than for the king to order Jeremiah a piece, or a cake, of bread from thence, every day, after the same manner.

¹ P. 252.

But

But however this may be, Pitts informeth us², that they have public bake-houses at Algiers for people in common, the women *only preparing the dough at home*, and other persons making it their business to bake it, who send their boys for that purpose about the streets, to give notice of their being ready to take people's bread, and to carry it to the bake-houses; "upon this the women within
 " come, and knock at the inside of the door,
 " which the boy hearing, makes towards the
 " house. The women open the door a very
 " little way, and hiding their faces, deliver
 " the cakes to him; which, when baked,
 " he brings to the door again, and the wo-
 " men receive them in the same manner as
 " they gave them." Pitts addeth to this, that they bake their cakes every day, or every other day, and give the boy who brings the bread, a *piece*, or *little cake*, for the baking, which the baker sells.

Small as the Eastern loaves are, they break them, it seems, and give a piece only, according to this, to the baker, as a gratification for his trouble. This will illustrate Ezekiel's account of the false prophetesses receiving as gratuities *pieces of bread*³; they are compensations still used in the East, but compensations of the meanest kind, and for services of the lowest sort.

² P. 65.³ Ezek. 13. 19.

OBSERVATION IX.

VII.

But they have other ways of preserving their corn for food, besides making it into *bread*. Burgle¹, Dr. Russell tells us, is very commonly used among the Christians of Aleppo: and in a note he informs us, that this “Burgle is *wheat* boiled, then bruised
 “ by a mill, so as to take the husk off; then
 “ dried, and kept for use. The usual way
 “ of dressing it, is either by boiling it like
 “ rice into a pilaw; or made into balls with
 “ meat and spices; and, either fried or boiled,
 “ these balls are called Cubby.” Rauwolff² and Ockley³ speak of the like preparation under the name of Sawik; but the first speaks of it as prepared from *barley*, and the other from *barley and rice* as well as *wheat*.

Again, Jones, in his account of the diet of the Moors of West Barbary⁴, makes mention of the *flour* of *parched barley*, which he says is the *chief* provision they make for travelling, and that some of them use it for their diet at home, as well as in journeying. I will set down his words. “What is most
 “ used by travellers, is *Zumeet*, *Tumeet*, or
 “ flour of parched barley for *Limereece*. These
 “ are not *Arabian*, but *Shilba* names; so I
 “ believe it is of longer standing than the
 “ Mahometans in that part of Afric. They

¹ P. 123.² P. 97.³ Hist. of the Saracens,

vol. 1. p. 217.

⁴ Miscell. Cur. vol. 3. p. 390, 391.

See also Phil. Trans. abr. vol. 3. part 2. ch. 3. art. 35.

“ are

“ are all three made of parched barley-flour,
 “ which they carry in a leather satchel. *Zu-*
 “ *meet* is the flour mixed with honey, but-
 “ ter, and spice; *Tumeet* is the same flour
 “ done up with origan oil; and *Limerecce* is
 “ only mixed with water, and so drank: this
 “ quenches thirst much better than water
 “ alone, satisfies an hungry appetite, cools
 “ and refreshes tired and weary spirits, over-
 “ coming those ill effects a hot sun and fa-
 “ tiguing journey might occasion.” He says
 also, that among the mountaineers of *Suse*
 this is used for their diet at home, as well as
 when they are on a journey.

May not one or other of these sorts of food be what is meant in Scripture, by what we render *parched corn*? Ruffell and Ockley speak of the Sawik or Burgle as *dried*; and Jones expressly calls the chief provision the Moors of West-Barbary use in travelling, the *flour of parched barley*.

Dr. Shaw is, I know, of a different opinion. He supposes ⁵ the Kali of the Scriptures, which he translates *parched pulse*, means parched Cicers, which he says are in the greatest repute, after they are parched in pans and ovens; and adds, as a strong confirmation, that there is not, as far as he has been informed, *any other pulse prepared in this manner*: but there is such a thing as *dried corn*, and of corn the Scriptures *may speak*, and *are most naturally understood to*

⁵ P. 140.

speak.

ſpeak. This ingenious author's own account, of the parched Cicers, affords to me a ſtrong objection againſt his ſuppoſition: for he tells us, they never conſtitute a diſh by themſelves, but are ſtrewed ſingly, as a *garniſh* over other diſhes. Rauwolff ⁶ contradicts the Cicers being the only pulſe that is parched; for he affirms, that the people of the Eaſt dreſs the Orobus after the ſame manner: however, he allows the parched Cicers being in great repute, for he ſays, they have them brought to table, with cheeſe, after their meals, inſtead of *preserves* or fruit, as cibeb, haſel-nuts, and the like, for they eat very mellow, and have a fine ſaltiſh taſte. He repeats, in another place ⁷, this account of the Cicers being uſed in thoſe countries as part of the *deſſert*. Nor is this a modern thing: St. Jerom ſpeaks of parched Cicers, in his commentary on St. Matthew ⁸, as uſed in deſerts, and for preſents of ſmaller value, and joins them with raiſins, and other kinds of fruit. But would Boaz have carried *things of this kind* to his *reapers*? Ruth ii. 14. Or would it have been recorded of the children of Iſrael, Joſh. v. 11, that upon their entrance into Canaan they eat unleavened cakes of the old corn of the land, and *parched Cicers*, and upon that the manna ceaſed? are Cicers of ſuch moment to the *ſupport of life*? Cicers which never conſtitute a diſh by them-

⁶ Travels published by Ray, tom. 1. p. 68. ⁷ P. 98.
⁸ Cap. 21.

selfes, and are only the garnishing of other dishes, or part of a dessert? We may be satisfied then, I think, that the word *Kali* does not signify parched Cicers, or any other pulse, but corn, and some how or other parched.

Barley is the grain, it should seem, that Moses speaks of as parched, Lev. ii. 14, for he is speaking of first-fruits, and barley is reaped in the Holy-Land before the wheat: and so Josephus understood it⁹. But whether in the form of Sawik, or of the Moorish flour of parched barley, is another question¹⁰. If we are rather disposed to think it was the *flour* of parched barley, it may be proper for us to observe how it was distinguished from common flour: this last is raw; that made from barley parched was *ready to be used immediately*, without any other preparation than

⁹ Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 10. [¹⁰ Perhaps it was neither; for, since this book was first published, I find that Hasselquist, in journeying from Acra to Seide, saw a shepherd eating his dinner, consisting of half-ripe ears of wheat roasted, which he eat with as good an appetite as a Turk doth his Pilaw. He treated Hasselquist, it seems, with the same dish; and afterward gave them milk from the goats to drink. *Such sort of food*, this author farther tells us, is much eaten in Egypt, by the poor, being ears of maize, or Turkish wheat, and of their dura, a kind of millet. He speaks of it, however, as far inferior to bread: "After all, how great is the difference betwixt good bread, and half-ripe ears of wheat roasted!" are his words, p. 166, 167. This account will very clearly explain some passages of Scripture, which are more naturally understood of roasted half-ripe ears of barley or wheat; but others still seem to refer to the Sawik and Moorish flour.]

mixing it with oil, with butter, or with honey. The Moors now think it proper for travelling, on this account, I suppose; and, for the same reason, it must have been agreeable for Jesse to send into the camp to his children, and for Abigail to present to David and his men, who were frequently obliged to pass from place to place. Jones's account may also teach us, the propriety of what is added at the close of the list of provisions, sent by the nobles on the other side of Jordan to king David: "They brought beds, and
 " basons, and earthen vessels, and wheat,
 " and barley, and flour, and *parched corn*,
 " and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse,
 " and honey, and butter, and sheep, and
 " cheefe of kine, for David and for the people
 " that were with him to eat; for they said,
 " The people is hungry, and weary, and
 " *thirsty*, in the wilderness." (2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.) Which of all these things was designed to quench their thirst? Jones observes, that the *flour of parched barley* mixed with water, is thought to quench thirst better than water alone, to satisfy hunger, and to cool and refresh tired and weary spirits: it might be sent therefore to David with a view to relieve the people, as *thirsty and tired*, as well as hungry. It appears, in like manner, to have been a very proper provision for the repast of labourers in the harvest-field, or those employed in sheep-shearing; and must have been very useful in a time when the old corn

was spent, and the new not sufficiently ripened to be made bread of¹¹ : on which occasions only mention is made of it in Scripture.

But if this Jewish parched corn is to be understood of the flour of parched barley, it doth not thence follow, that burgle, sawik, or boiled wheat dried, was unknown among them; and I have been ready to think, that this modern management of corn will give light to a remarkable passage of the history of David, the concealment, I mean, of his two spies in a well, whose mouth was covered with corn. (2 Sam. xvii. 19.) The exposing corn in this manner must have been common in Judæa, else it would rather have given suspicion than safety. But what *ground* corn, for so we translate it, should be laid out for in the open air, if we suppose it was meal, cannot easily be imagined. Bishop Patrick supposes it was corn newly threshed out, which she pretended to dry, though no such thing is practised among us in a much moister country, and the word is elsewhere used to signify corn beaten in a very different manner, Prov. xxvii. 22. Sanctius and Mariana both observed¹², that the word there expresses barley with the husk taken off, pearl or French barley as we call it; but as I suppose the Bishop did not imagine there was

[¹¹ Parched ears of corn must have been more so, such as Hasselquist describes, mentioned in the last note.]

¹² Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

any other use for such sort of barley than as a medicine, as among us, he could not think it supposable that the woman should have such a quantity of it : but these accounts of Burgle and Sawik remove the difficulty ; and it should seem, from this passage, the preparation of corn after this manner is as ancient as the time of David at least. To this may be added, that *quantities* of the Sawik are prepared at once, in order to be laid up in store¹³, whereas corn *there* is usually ground into meal in small parcels, the people of those countries baking every day, and grinding their corn as they want it. What is more, d'Arvieux, who speaks of this prepared corn under the name of Bourgoul, expressly mentions its being *dried in the sun*, after having spoken of their preparing a whole year's provision of it at once. *Voy. dans la Pal.* p. 200.

OBSERVATION X.

VIII.

Before I quit this part of their food, I ought to take some notice of the manner in which they keep the corn they are spending, which Sandys telleth us¹ is by means of *long vessels of clay*, it being subject to be eaten by worms without that precaution. This he observed at Gaza.

¹³ See Rauwolff in Ray's Coll. of Travels, tom. 1: p. 97.
¹ P. 117.

Agreeable to this I remember Norden tells us, that a Barbarin of Upper-Ægypt opened one of his *great jars*, in order to shew him how they preserved their corn there ².

That *barrel* in which the woman of Zarephath kept her corn, of which she had only enough left to make an handful of meal, (1 Kings xvii. 12,) might be a vessel of much the same kind, and consequently improperly translated a *barrel*. It is certain it is the same word, in the original, that is used for the vessels in which Gideon's soldiers *concealed their torches*, and which they *broke* with a clashing terrifying noise, when they blew with their trumpets, and both circumstances suppose their being vessels of earth.

It doth not however follow from hence, that they had these things with them for the keeping their corn; it might be *for fetching water*, for we find the same word is expressive of the vessels in which women were wont to fetch water ³; and no wonder, since the same sort of vessels are used for both purposes. Norden speaking of *great jars* for corn, as I just now remarked; and Dr. Pococke on the other hand takes notice, almost twice

² Vol. 2. p. 119. [The MS. C. mentions the same thing in a note on Bel and the Dragon, v. 3, where observing that the Eastern word used there signifies a measure for water, or some other liquid, not for flour, it informs us, that in the East they keep their flour in pots, jars, &c. not in sacks or barrels, on account of insects.]

³ Gen. 24. 14, 15, 16, 18, &c.

together, of the women of that country's carrying water in earthen jars.

The four *barrels* of water then, said to have been ordered by Elijah to be poured on the Sacrifice, 1 Kings xviii. 33, should have been translated four jars. Rebecca most certainly did not carry a *barrel*, a vessel of above thirty gallons, upon her head.

OBSERVATION XI.

[It may be agreeable also to make some remarks on their manner of *raising corn*, of which they use so much for food: and here we may observe that *oxen and asses* are made use of in sowing their grounds; and that some lands that are *not well-watered* are extremely fertile.

Isaiah plainly supposes that *oxen and asses* were used in sowing their lands, ch. xxxii. 20; it is still so in *Syria*¹. When Dr. Ruffell gives his readers an account of the manner of *sowing* grain about Aleppo, he says, “ No harrow is used, but the ground is
“ *plowed* a second time after it is sown, in
“ order to cover the grain; in some places,
“ where the soil is a little sandy, they plow
“ but once, and that is *after sowing*. The
“ plough is so light, that a man of a moderate strength may easily carry it with one
“ hand: a little *cow*, or at most two, and

¹ Moses, in like manner, supposes that oxen and asses were the animals used for plowing, Deut. 22. 10.

“ sometimes only an *afs* is sufficient to draw
 “ it in plowing, and one man both drives
 “ and holds it with so much ease, that he
 “ generally smokes his pipe at the same
 “ time².” Here we see *cows and asses* used
 for plowing, and plowing instead of *barrow-*
ing for covering the seed; just as the Pro-
 phet joins *sowing*, and the feet of the *ox and*
the afs together.

Dr. Ruffell also gives us to understand,
 that many large plains in Syria, which have
 no water, but the rain which falls in win-
 ter, yet are *exceeding fertile*³. Are we then
 to understand Isaiah, in that passage, of the
 sowing *rice*, and of the very *important qua-*
lities of that sort of grain, when he speaks
 of their being *blest who sowed beside all wa-*
ters? So Sir J. Chardin understood the pas-
 sage, and I would give the reader his note
 on these words, that he may judge for him-
 self.

After reciting the words of the Prophet,
 he goes on, *This exactly answers the manner of*
planting rice, for they sow it upon the water;
and before sowing it, while the earth is covered
with water, they cause the ground to be trod-
den by oxen, horses, and asses, who go mid-leg
deep, and this is their way of preparing the
*ground for sowing*⁴. He adds, *as they sow*

² P. 16.³ P. 11.⁴ He mentions the same cir-
 cumstance in a note on Amos 6. 12; and supposes the run-
 ning on a rock, is opposed to the running to and fro on
 ground covered four fingers deep with water.

the rice on the water, they transplant in the water. To this is joined a note in the margin, relating to the excellent qualities of rice; *Rice has this good and particular property, that it is good for all, and at all times: for infants the day they are born, and for the dying.*]

OBSERVATION XII.

IX.

Monf. d'Arvieux informs us¹ that the *butter* of the Arabs is not very good, and always has something of the taste of tallow—That they make it by churning in a *leather-bottle*², which is not very cleanly; filling it up afterwards with milk, and so make their cheese, which is white, and of a very bad taste, but they make no other—That they drink sometimes *sweet milk*, and sometimes make broth of it; but that when it curdles, they put the juice of an herb to it to make it sourer, and consequently more refreshing—That they also put some of it upon their pilaw³, and eat it mixed together.

Here are several things observable; but it is the account of their manner of making butter I would particularly remark, which is also used, according to Dr. Shaw⁴, in Barbary, because it seems to me to throw light on what is said of Jael, in the 4th and 5th of Judges: “And he (*Sifera*) said unto her,

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 200, 201.
the same account, p. 159.

² Haffé'quist gives
³ Their boiled rice.

⁴ P. 168.

“ give

“ give me, I pray thee, a little water to
 “ drink, for *I am thirsty*: and she opened a
 “ *bottle of milk*, and gave him drink, and
 “ covered him.” Judges iv. 19. “ He asked
 “ water, and she gave him *milk*, she brought
 “ forth *butter* in a lordly dish.” Judges
 v. 25.

Vitringa, in his commentary on Isaiah^s, tells us that the word *Chemab* signifies not only *butter* but *cream*, and that this last is the genuine sense of the word; he commends Altling for making this observation, which he thinks that writer has effectually confirmed, by comparing Judges v. 25, with Judges iv. 19. He adds that Jarchi, who was an eminent French Rabbi of the twelfth century, had the same thought before Altling.

I believe few people would think *cream* very proper drink for one that was *extremely thirsty*. And if I am not mistaken, a much clearer account may be given of these two texts from Monf. d’Arvieux. Jael, it is to be observed, was the wife of Heber the Kenite; and that Heber, as well as the rest of the Kenites, dwelt in Palæstine in *tents*, just as the Arabs do now, being indeed an Arab tribe. If the Kenites made *butter* then, as the modern Arabs do, (and as there doth not appear any *refinement* in the present Arab custom, but all the marks of the ancient simplicity, we may believe they did,) the supposing Jael had been just churning will

^s Vol. i. p. 188.

account, in the easiest manner in the world, for these two Scriptures. Sifera being thirsty, asked for some *water* to drink; she opens a *bottle*, a *skin* according to the original, a *leather-bottle* that is, with which, agreeably to the Arab mode, she had just been churning, and pouring its contents into a bowl fit to be presented to a man of Sifera's quality, and doubtless the best she had in the tent, she offers him this *butter-milk* to drink. This gave occasion to Deborah to speak of milk and butter both. *Sour milk* is esteemed by those people more refreshing than that which is sweet. Instead then of giving him *water*, when he complained of *thirst*, she gave him a better sort of liquid, but of a kind the most refreshing, we may believe, that she had then by her. Every thing in these two texts agrees with the Arab customs. *Chemab* certainly signifies *butter*, as appears Prov. xxx. 33; that it signifies *cream* may be true, but is by no means proved by the collation of these two passages, as Alting pretends.

So have I known a British Nobleman, of the first distinction, drink *butter-milk* with great relish when *thirsty* with hunting. And what is still more to the purpose, Dr. Pococke, when he is giving an account of an Arab's entertaining him in the Holy-Land as well as *he could*⁶, informs us that they brought cakes which were four, and fine

⁶ Vol. 2. p. 25.

oil of olives to dip them in ; but perceiving he did not like it, they served him up some *four butter-milk* : and every meal was finished with coffee. It is to be remembered, this was the entertainment of people that treated him in the most respectful manner they could, and was produced, when they found what was before prepared for him was not so agreeable, desirous to do every thing they could to accommodate him. So in the account which was published of Commodore Stewart's Embassy, to redeem some British captives in 1721, we are told that *butter-milk* is the *chief dessert* of the Moors ; and that when they would speak of the extraordinary *sweetness* of any thing, (I suppose *agreeableness* is meant,) they compare it to *butter-milk*.

X.

OBSERVATION XIII.

As to what la Rocque has said, on the authority of Monf. d'Arvieux, concerning the Arab way of making *cheese*, which was mentioned under the last Observation, a doubt having been made by some persons concerned in our English dairies, whether milk could be sufficiently turned, by *butter-milk*, into curds to make cheese, I had the experiment tried ; and when the butter-milk is a little sour, as we may believe it always is in those hot countries, it is very sufficient for the purpose : and the *cheese* produced in this manner, though not the very best, was
found

found more agreeable than was expected.— But observations of this kind do not belong to these papers.

In a language, I would remark then, so little copious as the Hebrew, it is scarcely credible that there should be three *different* words to signify *cheese*; yet in the three passages in which that word occurs in our translation¹, the original words are all different.

Cheese is eaten very commonly in the East, as well as with us; one would have imagined therefore the Septuagint would have been at no loss in translating passages which speak of cheese, or in determining what they meant, if some other kind of milk-meats were meant in them. They nevertheless retain the original word in 2 Sam. xvii. 29, as if they did not understand its meaning; and other translators have supposed that word signifies *sucking-calves*. The other two words the Septuagint translate by two different Greek words, which are understood to signify cheese; the difference between them, if there be a difference, not being, that I know of, well ascertained.

Dr. Shaw, in his account of the Barbary cheeses², tells us they are small, rarely weighing above two or three pounds, and *in shape and size* like our *penny-leaves*. One would imagine the ancient Jewish cheeses were of the same shape, since the same word signi-

¹ 1 Sam. 17, 18. 2 Sam. 17. 29. Job 10. 10. ² P. 168.

fies an hill, which in Job x. 10. is tranflated cheefe. So the Septuagint tranflate the high hills of Pf. lxxviii. 15, 16, by a word that fignifies cheefe-like hills. This would hardly have been, had their cheefes, which are commonly, if not always, eaten new, been like the new cheefe of our country.

The word in 1 Sam. xvii. 18. can hardly be imagined to fignify *cheefe* directly, fince *milk* is added in the original, and *cheefes of milk* is fo odd an expreffion: all cheefe being made of milk of fome kind or other. Our tranflators were fo ftruck with this, that they have fuppreffed the word *milk* as perfectly fuperfluous. But as the word fignifies a *rolling* instrument ufed for threfhing, may we not fuppose, that what Jeffe bid his fon David carry to the officer of the army, were ten baskets, fomewhat of the fhape of their threfhing instruments, in which there was coagulated milk? Baskets made of rufhes, or the dwarf-palm, are the *cheefe-vats* of Barbary³: into thefe they put the curds, and binding them up clofe, *prefs* them. But the Eastern cheefes are of fo very foft a confiftence after their being preffed, and even when they are brought to be eaten, that Sandys imagined they were not preffed at all⁴: *a beaftly kind of unpreffed cheefe, that lie in a lump*, being his defcription of this part of the Eastern diet. Now if the cheefes fent by Jeffe were as foft and tender as thofe

³ Shaw, ubi fupra.

⁴P. 51.

Sandys speaks of; or if the milk was only coagulated, so as to be what we mean by the word *curds*, which, according to Rauwolff, in a passage I shall have occasion very soon to quote, is a considerable part of the diet of the East; can we imagine any way more commodious for the carrying them to the army, than in the *rush-baskets* in which curds were formed into cheese?

Nor would *such baskets of coagulated milk* have been an improper present for an officer in the army of Saul, notwithstanding Sandys thought it a *beastly* sort of food; for by comparing some passages of Dr. Pococke together, it appears, that such sort of cheese is used in the East at this time at the more *elegant* tables of persons of distinction. Thus in describing the hospitality of the Arabs in Ægypt, he says, “The middling people
“amongst them, and the Coptis, live
“much poorer. I have often sat down
“with them only to *bread, raw onions, and*
“a seed pounded and put in oil, which
“they call Serich, produced by an herb
“called Simsim, into which they dip their
“bread;” yet, poor as these repasts are, the chief difference between them and the collation prepared for the *Governor* of Faiume, with whom he travelled, and of whose way of living he speaks with honour, consisted chiefly, according to *his own* description, in the *addition* of new cheese, for he says⁶, it

⁵ Vol. I. p. 182.

⁶ P. 56.

was of *bread, raw onions,* and a sort of salt *pickled cheefe.* Ten cheefes then, of this sort, or ten baskets of *curds,* was by no means an improper present for Jesse to make on this occasion; but whether this may be thought to be the meaning of the sacred writer, I leave with my reader.

XI.

OBSERVATION XIV.

Milk is a great part of the diet of the Eastern people. Their *goats* furnish them with some of it, and Ruffell tells us¹, are chiefly kept for that purpose; that they yield it in no inconsiderable quantity; and that it is sweet and well-tasted.

This, at Aleppo, is, however, chiefly from the beginning of April to September; they being generally supplied the other part of the year with *cow's* milk, *such as it is:* for, being commonly kept at the gardens, and fed with the refuse, the milk generally tastes so strong of garlick, or cabbage-leaves, as to be very disagreeable. Might there not be the same difference in Judæa in the time of Solomon? and may not his words, Prov. xxvii. 27, be designed to express the superior quality of *goat's* milk to that of any other kind in that country?

¹ P. 53.

OBSERVATION XV.

[The Arabs, in eating their milk, use no spoons. They dip their hands into the milk, which is placed in a wooden bowl before them, and so sup it out of the palms of their hands. Le Bruyn observed five or six Arabs, who were eating milk together *after this manner*, on the side of the Nile, as he was going up that river to Cairo, and was astonished at it¹; but it is common in those countries: and d'Arvieux informs us, that they eat their pottage in the same manner².

Is it not reasonable to suppose, that the same usage obtained anciently among the Jews, and that Solomon refers to it when he says, Prov. xix. 24, “A slothful man *hides his hand in the dish*, and will not so much “as bring it to his mouth again?” Our translators, indeed, render it the *bosom*, and Arias Montanus the *arm-pit*; but it is *confessed*³, that the word, every where else, signifies a *pot*, or *dish*, or something like it, and can only by a metaphor be applied to the bosom, or arm-hole. That which has induced the learned to depart from the well-known meaning of the word, and to put upon it a metaphorical, I am afraid we may say a whimsical sense, has been, their not being able to conceive what could be meant

¹ Tom. I. p. 586.² Voy. dans la Pal. p. 205.³ See Bishop Patrick's Argument before Prov. 19.

by *hiding* the hand in the dish ; and the supposing there was some resemblance between a dish and the bosom, or the arm-pit : but this circumstance, which travellers have mentioned, makes that perfectly clear, which appeared so obscure. *The slothful man, having lifted up his hand full of milk or pottage to his mouth, will not do it a second time ; no, though it be actually dipped into the milk or pottage, and covered over with it, he will not submit to the great fatigue of lifting it again from thence to his mouth.* Strong painting indeed this, but perfectly in the *Oriental taste*.

To this may be added, that Solomon repeats this maxim, with some variation of expression, ch. xxvi. ver. 15, but retains the word that has been translated bosom ; which would induce one to suppose he did not use it in such a very remote and metaphorical sense, as has been imagined, since the proper word, quite different from this, is used in other places, where there was occasion to speak of the hand's being in the bosom—in Ps. lxxiv 11, in particular.

But, perhaps, that part of the history of Gideon, that supposes *very few* would be disposed to use *water* after this manner, may be thought an objection to the applying this account of the modern Arabs to the ancient Israelites, “ And the Lord said unto Gideon, The people are yet *too many* : bring them down unto the *water*, and I will try them for thee there—Every one that
“ *lappeth*

“ *lappeth of the water* with his tongue as a
 “ dog lappeth, him shalt thou set by him-
 “ self; likewise every one that *boweth down*
 “ *upon his knees* to drink. And the number
 “ of them that lapped, *putting their hand to*
 “ *their mouth*, were three hundred men:
 “ but all the rest of the people *bowed down*
 “ *upon their knees* to drink water,” Judges vii.
 4, 5, 6. Had it been so common with the
 Israelites to take up liquids in the palms of
 their hands, as it is with the Arabs, would
 this have been a proper means to reduce
 their number in any considerable degree?
 Would there have been only three hundred
 out of ten thousand that lapped?

This may be thought specious, but the
 objection is by no means solid. The Arabs
lap their milk, and *pottage*, but not their
water. On the contrary, d'Arvieux tells
 us, that after they have eaten, they rise from
 table, and go and drink large draughts out
 of a pitcher, or, for want of that, out of a
 leather bottle, which they hand to one an-
 other *round and round**. Few of the Israelites,
 if they did in common sup their milk and
 pottage out of their hands, as the Arabs do,
 would have been disposed to lap water in
 the same manner, if they drank too as the
 Arabs now drink.

Two considerations more will complete
 the illustration of this part of the history
 of Gideon. The one is, that the Eastern

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 205.

people are not wont to drink *standing*. Busbequius, the Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, in his celebrated letters concerning the Eastern people, affirms this in a very particular manner⁵; the other, that the lapping with their hands is a very expeditious way of taking in liquids. D'Arvieux, in that accurate account of the Arabs of Mount Carmel, expressly takes notice of this, observing that this may be the reason why spoons are so universally neglected among the Arabs, as a man would eat upon very unequal terms with a spoon, among those that use the palms of their hands instead of them⁶.

Until I met with this passage of Busbequius, I could not tell what to make of that particular circumstance of the history of the Jewish Judge, that all the rest of the people *bowed down upon their knees* to drink water. It appeared to me rather the putting themselves into an attitude to *lap* water, than any thing else; as I supposed the words signified that they kneeled down by the side of some water in order to drink. But the matter is now clear: three hundred men, immediately upon their coming to the water, drank of it in the quickest manner they could, in order

⁵ Ep. 3. p. 169, 170. Aquam—*cessim* subsidentes biberent. Turcis enim bibere aut vesci aut urinam facere stantibus, nisi quid cogat, *religio est*, sed hæc faciunt ita demissis coxis, ut apud nos reddituræ lotium mulieres.

⁶ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 205.

to be ready without any delay to follow Gideon; the rest took up water in pitchers, or leather-bottles, or some kind of vessel, and bending down so as to sit jointly upon their heels and knees, or with their knees placed upright before them, either of which might be called bowing their knees to drink, though the last is the posture Busbequius refers to, they handed these drinking-vessels with ceremony and slowness from one to another, as they were wont to do in common, which occasioned their dismissal. So two-and-twenty thousand of those that were faint-hearted were first sent away; then all the rest, excepting three hundred men of peculiar alacrity and dispatch, the most proper for the business for which they were designed, but visibly unequal to the task of opposing the Midianites, without some miraculous interposition of God — absolutely unequal.]

OBSERVATION XVI,

XII.

It is surprizing that so celebrated an author as Altius should imagine these words of the Prophet¹, *butter and honey shall be eat*, &c, are expressive of a *state of poverty*; yet Vitringa, in his commentary on them, assures us this is his sentiment.

The Old Testament so often speaks of *boney and milk* as emblems of *plenty*, and the connexion between *butter and milk* is so

¹ II. 7. 15.

obvious, that few, I believe, have embraced his opinion. It will not however be amiss, to cite a passage or two from d'Arvieux's account of his journey to the Grand Emir's camp, to establish this point, especially as it will give occasion to other reflexions.

D'Arvieux being in the camp of that Arab prince, who lived in *much splendor*, and treated him with *great regard*, was entertained, he tells us², the first morning of his being there, with little loaves, *honey*, *new-burned butter*, and loaves of cream³, more delicate than any he ever saw, together with coffee. Agreeably to this, he assures us in another place⁴, that one of the *principal things* with which the Arabs regale themselves at breakfast is *cream*, or *new butter*, *mingled with honey*; a mixture, he observes, which seems odd, but which experience proves not to be bad.

According to him then, *butter and honey* is an *exquisite* breakfast among the Arabs, and presented by *princes* to those they would honour with *great distinction*; consequently nothing is more unhappy than the thought of Alting.

Every one's eating *butter and honey*, (of the *poor people that should be left in the land*,) mentioned Is. vii. 22, is by no means con-

² Voy. dans la Pal. p. 24.

³ A delicacy in use in France, which the English translator expresses by cheese-cakes, though I have been assured they are different things.

⁴ P. 197.

trary to this account of d'Arvieux ; it apparently signifies the *plenty* in which those should live there that survived the desolation of that country, and continued in it when laid open, and become common. The Prophet expressly says, the eating of butter was to be the consequence of *abundance* of milk.

The account that is given of the diet of John the Baptist may be thought a much stronger objection. He lived on locusts and wild *honey*, and his way of life is represented, by our Lord, as the very reverse of the way of those who dwell in kings courts, nay, as very different from his own ; consequently honey and locusts must be thought to have been *then* reckoned very coarse sorts of food, whatever honey may *now* be among the Arabs. But the force of this difficulty lies in taking for granted, what is not to be admitted, that the management of John was like the *affected rigor* and *pompous abstinence* of some superstitious hermits ; whereas the account we have of him only expresses great *simplicity* — that he contented himself with what Nature offered him in those retreats. This, to those that expected the Messiah's should be an earthly kingdom, and those that were concerned in introducing it *great men* after the manner of this world, might well be pointed out by our Lord as a thing extremely observable.

There is a passage in Rauwolff^s that greatly illustrates this explanation, in which, speaking of his passing through the Arabian deserts, he says, “ We were necessitated to be
 “ contented with some *slight* food or other,
 “ and *make a shift* with curds, cheefe, fruits,
 “ *honey*, &c, and to take any of these, with
 “ bread, for a good entertainment. The
 “ honey in these parts is very good, and of
 “ a whitish colour, whereof they take in
 “ their caravans and navigations, great lea-
 “ ther bottles full along with them; this
 “ they bring you in small cups, and *put a*
 “ *little butter to it*, and so you eat it with
 “ biskets. By this dish I often remembered
 “ St. John the Baptist, the forerunner of
 “ our Lord, how he also did eat honey in
 “ the desarts, together with other food. Be-
 “ sides this, when we had a mind to *feast*
 “ ourselves, some ran, as soon as our master
 “ had landed at night, to fetch some wood,
 “ and others in the mean time made an
 “ hole in the ground on the shore, in the
 “ nature of a furnace, to boil our *meat*.
 “ So every company dressed accordingly
 “ what they had a mind to, or what they
 “ had laid up in store; some boiled rice,
 “ others ground corn, &c. And when they
 “ had a mind to eat new bread, instead, or
 “ for want of, biskets, they made a paste of
 “ flour and water, &c.” Rauwolff speaks
 of *honey*, *fruits*, *curds*, and *cheese*, as forts

of food that they were obliged *to make a shift with*, and he opposes them to those catables on which they sometimes *feasted*, but certainly not because these things were *in themselves* coarse and mortifying; for he tells us, the honey was very good, and elsewhere⁶ speaks of the bringing *some of these things*⁷ to the Eastern tables, as *delicacies* at the close of their entertainments: but he considers them when *alone* as being a *slight* sort of food, and which people are not wont to be pleased with without something of a more solid kind. Such, doubtless, was the character of the Baptist's abstemiousness, not pompous, affected, and brutal, like that of the hermits of superstition, (who more resemble *Nebuchadnezzar in his distraction* than the *forerunner* of our Lord;) but *perfectly natural*, as living among the people of the wilderness, contenting himself therefore with a way of life sparing as theirs, and perhaps more visibly dependent on what Providence presented than even they, instead of living in abundance and profusion, after the manner of those that dwelt in kings palaces, or eating bread and meat, and drinking wine as our Lord did.

This explanation will, *at the same time*, remove a difficulty, that might *otherwise* arise from what modern authors have told us, of the agreeableness of the taste of *locusts*, and their being frequently used for

⁶ P. 98.

⁷ Cheese and fruits.

food in the East: Dr. Shaw observing⁸, that when they are sprinkled with salt, and fried, they are not unlike, in taste, to our fresh-water cray-fish; and Ruffell saying⁹, the Arabs salt them up, and eat them as a *delicacy*.

Even his *clothing of hair* is mentioned by Rauwolff as in common use in those deserts; and he says, that he himself, in his travels among that people, put on a frock of this kind¹⁰. There was nothing then in John of excessive rigour; nothing of an ostentatious departing from common forms of living, in order to indulge in delicacies, like those St. Jerome blames in that letter to Neopotian I have already cited¹¹; but retiring into the deserts for meditation and prayer, he lived with great simplicity, *after the manner of the inhabitants of those places*, both with respect to dress and food.

But to proceed. Nothing more, I believe, is understood by us, in common, when we read those passages that speak of eating butter and honey, than the eating *separately* of each of them; but the modern Arabs, according to Rauwolff and d'Arvieux, often *mix them together*, especially

⁸ P. 188.⁹ P. 62.¹⁰ P. 123. and 156.

[These garments however were made of the hair of goats and asses, whereas the clothing of John was of camel's hair, Matt. 3. 4: they were not then exactly alike, but agreed in general in being of *hair-cloth*. The reader will find this circumstance resumed in an Observation of the last chapter.]

¹¹ Observ. 2.

when they would regale their friends more deliciously than usual, according to the last mentioned observer: and there is reason to think this is only retaining an ancient usage, and that the eating butter and honey *in the Prophet* means, the eating them mingled together.

Their account furnishes us with one correction more, and that is, that butter and honey are used by grown-up people, and are by no means *appropriated to children*: those learned men then, among whom is Archbishop Usher, who consider butter and honey in Is. vii. 15, as signifying infant's food¹², attach an idea to the words which seems to have nothing to do with them. Indeed, it is more probable, that they signify the contrary, and should rather be thus translated, "Butter and honey shall he eat, when he shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good:" that is, *though now Judah is terriblyarrassed, and that occasions scarcity, when this child shall be grown up to be able to distinguish between good and evil, both these kings shall be cut off, and this country shall enjoy such plenty, that he shall eat butter and honey.*

OBSERVATION XVII.

XIII.

But delicious as honey is to an Eastern palate. it has been thought sometimes to

¹² See Lowth upon the place.

have

have produced terrible effects. So Sanutus ¹ tells us, that the English that attended Edward I. into the Holy Land died in great numbers, as they marched, in *June*, to demolish a place, which he ascribes to the excessive heat, and their intemperate eating of fruits and *honey*.

This, perhaps, may give us the thought of Solomon when he says ², “ It is not good “ to eat much honey.” He had before, in the same chapter, mentioned that an excess in eating honey occasioned sickness and vomiting; but, if it was thought sometimes to produce deadly effects, there is a greater energy in the instruction.

But however that be, this circumstance seems to illustrate the prophetic passage, which speaks of a book sweet in the mouth as a morsel of honey, but bitter after it was down ³ — producing pain bitter as those gripings the army of Edward felt in the Holy-Land, from eating honey with excess: for of such disorders as are the common effects of intemperateness as to fruit, in those climates, Sanutus appears to be speaking, and the bloody-flux, attended with griping pains, is well known to be the great complaint.

¹ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 2. p. 224.
25. 27.

³ *Rev.* 10. 9, 10.

² *Prov.*

OBSERVATION XVIII.

XIV.

There is no difference made among us, between the delicacy of honey in the *comb*, and after its separation from it, we may therefore be at a loss to enter into the energy of that expression, “Sweeter than honey, “*and the honey-comb*,” Pf. xix. 10; or, to express it with the same emphasis as our translation doth the preceding clause, “Sweet-
“er than honey, *yea, than the honey-comb*,” which last, it should seem, from the turn of thought of the Psalmist, is as much to be preferred to honey, as the finest gold is to that of a more impure nature.

But this will appear in a more easy light, if the *diet and relish* of the present Moors, of West-Barbary, be thought to resemble those of the times of the Psalmist: for a paper, published first in the Philosophical Transactions, and after that by Dr. Halley, in the *Miscellaneous Curiosa*¹, informs us, that they esteem honey a wholesome breakfast, “and the *most*
“*delicious* that which is in the *comb*, with
“the young bees in it, before they come
“out of their cases, whilst they still look
“milk-white, and resemble (being taken
“out) gentles, such as fishers use: these I
“have often eat of, but they seemed insipid
“to my palate, and sometimes I found they
“gave me the heart-burn.”

¹ Vol. 3. p. 382.

This, however, is *hardly* all: there should be something more in it than this, if the present Moorish practice be allowed to be explanatory of the ancient Jewish diet; since there are no fewer than three very different Hebrew words translated *honey-comb* by us, and in a language so little copious as that is, it would be very extraordinary if they should all signify precisely the same thing, and especially when there is such a variety of things of this kind.

The Septuagint translator of the book of Canticles supposes bread is meant by the honey-comb of Cant. v. 1. And the ingenious Dr. Shaw seems to imagine that the honies, as he calls them, of grapes, of the palm-tree, (or of dates,) and of the reed, (that is sugar,) were of such an antiquity, as to be referred to in the days of Moses, as well as that of bees[†]. That paper too in the *Miscellanea Curiosa* gives us to understand, that honey may be called by different names, according to its different *natural* or *artificial* qualities: for its author tells us, that when he was at *Suse*, he had a bag of honey brought him by a friend, who made a present of it to him, as being of *great esteem*, and such as they present to men of *greatest note* among them, telling him, he was to eat a little of it every morning to the quantity of a walnut. It was thick as Venice treacle, and full of small seeds. He breakfasted upon it several mornings, and found it always made

[†] See the note p. 339.

him sleepy, but agreed very well with him. The seeds were of the bigness of mustard, and, according to the description of them to him, and the effects he found from eating honey and them, they must have been a large sort, he says, of poppy-feed. “ The honey
 “ was of *that sort they call* in Sufe Izucanee,
 “ or Origanum, which the bees feed on, and
 “ these feeds were mixed with.”

As then there are so many sorts of honey, as there are three distinct Hebrew words translated *honey-comb*, and as that language is so little copious, it must surely be more natural to suppose those three terms signify different things, than one and the same. But what? is a difficult question.

The robb of grapes, of which Shaw tells us near two thousand quintals are annually sent from Hebron *alone* to Ægypt, is, I should think, unconcerned in this enquiry. It is readily allowed, that it is *now* consumed in great quantities; and that its name, *Dibse*, is nearly the same with the Hebrew word Debash, which signifies honey, a circumstance which the Doctor also mentions. Other authors also^s speak of this part of the Eastern diet very frequently, and sometimes nearly under the same name. Yet I very

^s Dr. Ruffell, in his Nat. History of Aleppo, calls it Dibbs, and speaks of it as *commonly* used at Aleppo for food; Olearius mentions it in his account of Persia; and Bp. Pococke in his first vol. concerning Ægypt, under the name of Becmes.

much

much question its being known in the time of Moses ; for the writers of antiquity, of whom some have mentioned the honey of dates, and of reeds, have, so far as I know, been altogether silent about it. Perhaps it would never have been thought of, had wine been allowed there in common, as it was anciently. But, however, that it was unknown in the time of Moses, is, I should think, sufficiently plain, from his precepts concerning the Nazarites. They were forbid the use of every thing produced by the vine: moist grapes, raisins, wine, vinegar, are distinctly mentioned, but not a word about the honey of grapes; and though the law doth not content itself with forbidding wine and vinegar, but expressly forbids the *drinking* any liquor of grapes, there is an absolute silence about *eating* its inspissated juice, though it is *now* one of the chief things made from the vine. And as it seems not to have been in use in the days of Moses, it was, for any thing that appears to the contrary, equally unknown in all the times of the Old Testament.

The carrying down Joseph a present of the best things of the land, a little Balm, and a little Dipse, (Gen. xliii. 11,) is mentioned by Dr. Shaw as a proof that the robb of grapes was in use very anciently, for honey, properly so called, could not be so great a *rarity* there, he thinks, as Dipse must be, from the want of vineyards in Ægypt.

gypt. But I do not know that Jacob, in choosing that present, fixed on things that were *most uncommon* in Ægypt, but those that were thought in Canaan valuable things, and proper for a present to great men. *Take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present,* are the precise words of the Patriarch: now it appears from the paper in the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, the honey of bees, especially one sort of it, is *at this day* given as a present to persons of the greatest note; and it appears from 1 Kings xiv. 3, that it was thought a proper present anciently. But setting this consideration aside, as to the greater *rarity* of the honey of grapes in Ægypt, it is impossible to determine which was most plentiful in that country, in those times: it is certain it is *naturally* the produce of *woody countries*, and Ægypt is not, and, we have reason to believe from its marshy situation, *never was* a well-wooded country; if then art had not interposed in the days of Jacob to make *bives* for the bees, and they had honey only from *hollow trees*, the honey of bees might be as great a rarity in Ægypt as the honey of grapes, (for they had some vineyards there soon after, or at least a number of vines, Pf. cv. 33,) supposing with the Doctor this *inspissated juice* was then in use, which doth not appear to be the fact. This sort of honey then ought to be out of the question.

The honey of the palm-tree, or of dates, appears to be more ancient: for Josephus tells us⁶ it was copiously produced about Jericho, and *inferior*, though not much, to common honey, which was also plentiful there. The much older writer too of the second book of Chronicles, is commonly understood by interpreters to mean this honey of dates, in ch. xxxi. 5, which gives an account of the first fruits *of the increase of the field*. This relation of Josephus concerning this sort of honey differs from that given us by Dr. Shaw⁷, according to whom, it has a more *luscious sweetness* than proper honey, and is *so esteemed* as to be made use of by *persons of better fashion* upon a marriage, at the birth or circumcision of a child, or any other feast or good-day. The manner also in which this kind of honey is procured, according to his account, seems to be different from that of the country and age of Josephus⁸, which difference may be the cause that the one reckons it better, and the other worse, than the honey of bees; but be that as it will, Josephus must be supposed to give the most authentic account of the Jewish palm-tree honey, and of the *esteem* it had in that country.

⁶ De Bello Jud. lib. 4. cap. 8. Ed. Hav. ⁷ P. 143.

⁸ The people of Barbary, according to Dr. Shaw, cut off the top of the tree, and receive the sap in a sort of basin they have scooped in the top of the trunk; but Josephus seems to suppose this honey was got by *pressure*.

As to the honey of reeds, or, in other terms, *sugar*, it is now produced in Ægypt; and the green reeds, or canes, are in high esteem there, according to Dr. Pococke, who assures us⁹, the people of that country eat great quantities of them, and esteem it a *great dessert*: he adds, that they frequently eat their bread, broken into small pieces, and put into a sort of syrup made of the cane; and that, besides some coarse loaf-sugar, and some sugar-candy, they make some very fine sugar, which they *send to Constantinople to the Grand Seignior*, and make it only for that purpose. The Croisade writers¹⁰, in like manner, speak of these reeds, under the name of Calamelli, or Canamellæ, as growing in those times near Tyre, and other places in Syria. From these, the Archbishop of Tyre tells us, *sugar* is produced, a *most precious thing* for human use, and very necessary for the *health* of men; as another of those authors remarks, that it is looked upon by the natives of that country as a *delicacy*, and appears to the taste *to exceed the honey-comb in sweetness and healthfulness*, adding, that some suppose it was the sort of honey that Jonathan, the son of Saul, found, and tasted of. No one, I believe, will be ready to adopt that last sentiment: the Canamellæ grow not in woods; nor would it have been so natural, if they had, for him to have made use

⁹ Vol. I. p. 183, 204. ¹⁰ Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 270, 304, 401, 835.

of the rod in his hand, for the taking some of their juice. They might, however, be known to David and to Solomon, or what was produced from them: not that we are to imagine, that they grew in the time of those princes in Judæa, or in Ægypt, or in Syria; it doth not appear they did so in the time of our Lord. Some moderns, it has been said, suppose those of that time had *no knowledge at all* of sugar; but it has been shewn, on the contrary, that several of them were acquainted with it¹¹: but, at the same time, it sufficiently appears, by the imperfect accounts of those very authors, that the plant did not at that time grow in so near and well-known a country as either Ægypt, Syria, or Judæa. Dioscorides the Cilician, who lived a little time after the death of our Lord, in a passage cited by Dr. Shaw himself¹², expressly mentions sugar as a thing he was acquainted with, but as a production of India and Arabia the Happy: supposing, if I understand the passage aright, that sugar-canes grew in this Arabia, where sometimes the sugar was found congealed upon the canes; but that *manufactured* sugar came from India. If it was not a production of Judæa in the time of our Lord, it is reasonable to believe it never was in the ages that preceded his: it was too delicate a thing in the esteem of the Eastern people to be abandoned.

¹¹ Voy. le Dictionnaire des Drogues, par Monf. Lemery, Art. Saccharum. ¹² P. 339.

David and Solomon, *however*, might be acquainted with it. We are to remember they were mighty princes, greatly revered by foreign nations, and their influence of *great extent*; as such presents were made them, according to the Eastern mode, by distant nations, consisting of things of the most curious kind, some of which Judæa never before saw: "And she gave the king," says the sacred historian, "an hundred and " twenty talents of gold, and of spices great " abundance, and precious stones: neither " was there *any such spice* as the queen of " Sheba gave king Solomon," 2 Chron. ix. 9. Sugar, in some form or other, might, along with those other things, be presented to Solomon, and, on the like account, by some nation or other to David his father, to whom, we know, many great presents were also made, 1 Chron. xviii; as *fine sugar is at this day sent to the Grand Seignior by the Ægyptians, and honey was anciently by Jacob, as one of the best things of the land he inhabited, to a vice-roy of Pharaoh.*

From these *data*, the knowing nothing anciently of the honey of grapes, the honey of dates not being so good as proper honey, and sugar much better, with this, that sugar, or the Canamellæ, might be known to David and Solomon, we may draw some *probable* conclusions, concerning the meaning of the words rendered by our translators *honey-comb*.

Jagnar is, I presume, the honey-comb properly speaking, for it is used for the receptacle of the honey in the *wood*, into which Jonathan dipped the end of his rod, it being, it should seem, in some hollow tree, and not otherwise to be come at, 1 Sam. xiv. 27. Nor doth its being used Cant. v. 1, "I have eaten my honey-comb *with my honey*," contradict this: understood of the honey-comb properly speaking, the *Miscellanea Curiosa* may furnish us with a comment on the words; or the Septuagint translator of the Canticles may be supposed to interpret it, who thinks it signifies bread in that place, bread, we are to imagine of a particular kind, somewhat like Dr. Shaw's Bag-reeh, which he tells us¹³ is a pan-cake made to *honey-comb*, by rubbing the Ta-jen with soap instead of butter.

Tzuph, used Prov. xvi, 24, and Pf. xix. 10, is, I suppose, the name given the plant that produces one of the other kinds of honey: and when I consider that only David and Solomon speak of this; that the Psalmist supposes its droppings are as much preferable to honey, as refined gold to unrefined; and compare the words of the other sacred writer, "Pleasant words are as an *honey-comb*," or as the honey-tzuph, "*sweet* to the soul, and *health* to the *bones*," with those expressions of William

¹³ P. 230.

the Archbishop of Tyre¹⁴, “ It produces
 “ canes, from whence fugar is made, one
 “ of the *most precious* things in the world
 “ for the use of men, and extremely ne-
 “ cessary for their *health* ;” I am very much
 inclined to think those two passages speak,
 the one of the fugar or syrup of that plant,
 the other of the cane itself.

The honey of dates, which, though in-
 ferior to that of bees, is, it seems, very
 pleasant, is left to answer the other word,
 which occurs in Prov. v. 3, ch. xxiv. 13,
 ch. xxvii. 7, Cant. iv. 11. Or that word
 may be applied by my reader to any of the
 other varieties of honey he may meet with,
 and which he may think more answerable to
 the meaning of the word, and the descrip-
 tion that may be drawn from these passages.

OBSERVATION XIX.

[Among the varieties made by our English
 potters, one sort, of a particular shape, is
 called an honey-pot ; the ancient Jewish pot-
 ters seem to have had a like distinction a-
 mong them.

Honey is a thing of which flies, wasps,
 ants, &c, are so fond, that they must soon
 have found a necessity of taking some parti-
 cular care to guard against their depreda-

¹⁴ Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 835. Nutriat—Canamel-
 las, unde *præciosissima* usibus & *saluti* mortalium necessaria
 maximè, conficitur *zachara*.

tions; and must therefore have found it requisite to make the vessels, designed for the preservation of their honey, of a particular shape, whether the same with that made use of by our English potters, or not, is of no consequence to us to determine.

Bakbuk seems to have been the Hebrew name of this vessel. The 1 Kings xiv. 3, shows it was a vessel used for honey; as Jer. xix. 1, 10, 11, show that it was an earthen vessel.

Our translators seem to have been unhappy, in rendering the word *bakbuk* by the term *bottle*. A vessel with a small mouth, which is what is meant by the word *bottle*, is not proper for a substance so glutinous, and so apt to candy as honey: whatever kind of vessel then it was, it certainly was not a bottle. At the same time the force and liveliness of the image is extremely impaired: *Go, said the Lord to Jeremiah, get a potter's earthen honey-pot, and taking of the Ancients of the people, and of the Ancients of the Priests, break the pot in their sight; and say unto them, thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Even so will I break this people and this city, as one breaketh a potter's vessel, which cannot be made whole again, i. e, though the people that dwell here in former times have been grateful to me, as honey is to men¹, their habitation shall be destroyed totally, and their posterity cast out of my sight.]*

¹ Prov. 24. 13. Ezek. 16. 13. Gen. 43. 11.

OBSERVATION XX.

XV.

St. Jerome¹ reckons wine, liquamen, *fish* and *eggs* along with *honey*, in his *catalogue* of delicacies. Perhaps then, when told the disciples gave our Lord a piece of a broiled *fish* and of an *honey-comb*, Luke xxiv. 42, we, who have been ready to look upon it as a strange *association* of dishes, if understood of proper *honey-comb*, and not of a sort of bread, have suffered this surprize from not *entering into the views* of the disciples. They probably not attending to any order,

—so contrived as not to *mix*

Tastes, not well joined, in-elegant; but bring

Taste after taste, upheld with *kindliest change*²,

as Eve did, according to Milton, but only designing to express their great veneration for him, by setting before him the most *grateful*³ things in their power, leaving it to him to eat of which he pleased.

I am not sure that there was no view, in like manner, to the *delicacy of eggs*, in the

¹ In Epitaphio Paulæ, vol. 1, p. 176. ² Paradise
Loft, B. 5. 334—336. ³ So the Arabs set all

they have before their guests, however discordant their natures, eggs, honey, curds, &c, that every one may eat as he likes. Voy. dans la Pal. p. 125 & 128. So Pilao, *broth, beans, four cream, and honey*, were set before Egmont and Heyman by the Arabs of the Holy-Land. Vol. 2. p. 4. Pilao, dishes of *meat, soup, honey, &c*, constituted an entertainment at Tiberias, p. 35.

words of our Lord, Luke xi. 11, 12, where he speaks both of fish and eggs. It may on the contrary, perhaps, add to the *beauty* of the passage, if we understand it as signifying, *If a child should ask an earthly parent for bread, a necessary of life, he will not deny him what is necessary for his support, putting him off with a stone; and if he should ask him for a sort of food of the more delicious kind, a fish or an egg, he will not, we may assure ourselves, give his child what is hurtful, a serpent or a scorpion: if sinful men then will give good gifts to their children, how much more will your heavenly Father give the necessary and the more extraordinary gifts of his spirit to them that supplicate for them? not giving up to hurtful illusions those that affectionately pray for the hallowing his name, and the coming of his kingdom, which petitions involve in them the asking for the extraordinary gifts of the spirit.* v. 20.

But whatever might be the view of our Lord, it is certain St. Jerome was right in putting eggs into his list of Eastern delicacies⁺: for nothing is more common than to meet with eggs in modern entertainments there, when they would treat persons in the most respectful manner. So Dr. Pocock describes a *very grand* morning-collation, given

[⁺ Even Plutarch mentions *eggs*, along with bread made of sifted flour, and a preparation of grain unground, as delicacies among the ancient Greeks, in his book *de Animi Tranquillitate*.]

in Ægypt to a person of distinction, as consisting of the best sort of bread, made with butter, *fried eggs*, *honey*, green salt cheese, olives, and several other small things. Vol. i. p. 57. He mentions also *eggs* very often, in the accounts he gives of the entertainments made for him by the Sheiks in the *Holy-Land*. Agreeably to which Monf. d'Arvieux tells us, that a supper, prepared by the peasants of a village near Mount Carmel, for him and for *their Governor*, and attended with all the marks of respect they were capable of expressing, consisted of wine, *fried fish*, *eggs*, and some other things⁵.

It must be their reputed delicacy also, one would imagine, that occasions them frequently to be sent to persons of figure for presents, in those countries: fifty eggs being sent at one time to the English Consul whom Pococke attended to Cairo, and an hundred at another⁶.

OBSERVATION XXI.

XVI.

The flesh that travellers in the East frequently carry along with their other provisions, is usually *potted*, in order to preserve it fit for use. Dr. Shaw¹ mentions it as part of the provision he made for his journey to Mount Sinai, which commonly is not completed under two months; nor does he

⁵ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 29.
East by Dr. Pococke, vol. i. p. 17.

⁶ Travels into the
¹ Pref. p. 11.

ſpeak of any other ſort of meat which he carried with him.

In ſome ſuch way, doubtleſs, was the meat prepared that Joſeph ſent to his father for his *viaticum*, when he was to come into *Ægypt*, *Ten aſſes laden with the good things of Ægypt, and ten ſhe-aſſes laden with corn, and bread, and meat, for his father by the way.* But *meat* is by no means *neceſſary* for an *Eastern* traveller; and eſpecially for ſo *ſhort* a journey as Jacob had to take; and *ſtill leſs* for one who was to travel with conſiderable quantities of cattle, as we know Jacob did, Gen. xlvi. 6, 32, who, conſequently, could kill a goat or a kid, a ſheep or a lamb, for himſelf and his company, whenever he pleaſed: it was therefore, in conſequence, rather ſent as a piece of reſpect, and as a *delicacy*; and ſo in another letter of St. Jerome's, that father ſpeaks of potted fleſh² in this light, which therefore may be added to his preceding catalogue of *dainty meats*.

There are other ways, however, in theſe hot countries of potting fleſh for keeping, beſides that of contuſion, mentioned by St. St. Jerome, and practiſed in our country. Jones, in that paper of the *Miſcellanea Curioſa*³ I cited in a preceding Obſervation, gives us this deſcription of the Moorish Elcholle⁴,

² *Revera non poterat Deus conditum ei merum mittere, & electos cibos, & carnes contuſione mutatas.* Ep. ad Euſtoch. vol. i. p. 137.

³ Vol. 3. p. 388, 389.

⁴ Or, Alchollea. Phil. Tranſ. Abr. vol. 3. part 2. ch. 3. §. 36.

which

which is made of beef, mutton, or camel's flesh, but chiefly beef, and which " they cut all in long slices, salt it well, and let it lie twenty-hour hours in the pickle. They then remove it out of those tubs, or jars, into others with water ; and when it has lain a night, they take it out, and put it on ropes in the sun and air to dry ; when it is thoroughly dried, and hard, they cut it into pieces of two or three inches long, and throw it into a pan, or cauldron, which is ready, with boiling oil and suet sufficient to hold it, where it boils till it be very clear and red, if one cuts it, which, taken out, they set to drain : when all is thus done, it stands to cool, and jars are prepared to put it up in, pouring the liquor they fried it in upon it ; and as soon as it is thoroughly cold, they stop it up close. It will keep two years ; it will be hard, and the hardest they look on to be best done. This they dish up cold, sometimes fried with eggs and garlick, sometimes stewed, and lemon squeezed on it. It is very good any way, either hot or cold."

OBSERVATION XXII.

XVII.

I do not know whether St. Jerome any where speaks of wild animals as delicacies ; but it should seem that Isaac and the Ancients

cients thought them so, as well as the Moderns. What Esau caught for his father, I am not able to say, but antelopes, Shaw tells us¹, abound in Syria, Phœnice, and the Holy-Land; and Ruffell observes, that though in the sporting season they are lean, yet they have a good flavour, and in summer, when fat, they may *vie even with our venison* in England².

The hunting of partridges is expressly mentioned in another passage of Scripture³; and the account Dr. Shaw gives us, of the manner of doing it by the Arabs, ought to be set down, as it is a lively comment on that Scripture, which is not, however, taken notice of by that ingenious author. “The
 “ Arabs have another, though a more laborious method of catching these birds; for
 “ observing that they become languid and
 “ fatigued after they have been *hastily* put
 “ up *twice* or *thrice*, they immediately run
 “ in upon them, and knock them down
 “ with their zerwattys, or bludgeons, as we
 “ should call them⁴.” It was precisely in this manner Saul hunted David, coming hastily upon him, and putting him up from time to time, in hopes he should at length, by frequent repetitions of it, be able to destroy him.

¹ P. 347.² P. 54.³ 1 Sam. xxvi. 20.⁴ P. 236.

Egmont and Heyman give an account ' of the manner of taking snipes in the Holy-Land, very much like the Arab way of catching partridges. They say that if the company be numerous they may be hunted on horseback, as they are then never suffered to rest, till they are so tired that you may almost take them in your hand. But snipes delight in *watery* places. David therefore being in *dry* deserts, might rather mention the partridge, [of which there are more species than one in the East, some of which, at least, haunt mountainous and desert places '.]

OBSERVATION XXIII.

XVIII.

If from the *wild* we proceed to the *tame* animals, I would observe that the *shoulder of a lamb* is thought in the East a great *delicacy*.

Abdormelick the Chaliph¹, upon his entering into Cufah, made a splendid entertainment. “ When he was sat down, Amrou, the son of Hareth, an ancient Mechzumian, came in: he called him to him, and placing him by him upon his sofa, asked him what meat he liked best of all that ever he had eaten. The old Mechzumian

⁵ Vol. 2. p. 49, 50. These snipes they found not far from St. John d'Acric. They mentioned them before as found in great numbers near the sea of Tiberias, p. 37.

⁶ See Egmont & Heyman, vol. 2. p. 171, 172, 244, and Hasselquist, p. 30.

¹ See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. 2. p. 277.

“ answered,

“ answered, an afs’s neck well seasoned, and
 “ well roasted. You do nothing, says Ab-
 “ dolmelick; what say you to a leg or a
 “ *shoulder* of a fucking lamb, well roasted,
 “ and *covered over with butter and milk?*”
 The history adds, that while he was at sup-
 per, he said, How sweetly we live, if a
 shadow would last! This prince then thought
 the *shoulder* of a fucking lamb one of the
 most exquisite of dishes; and what he says
 explaineth Samuel’s ordering it to be reserved
 for the future king of Israel, 1 Sam. ix. 24,
 as well as what that was which was upon it,
 the butter and the milk, which circum-
 stance the sacred historian distinctly men-
 tions, and which an European reader is apt
 to wonder what it should mean, but which
 added so much to the delicacy of the meat,
 that an *Eastern prince*, as well as an *Eastern
 author*, was led distinctly to mention it.

This, and a number of the other observa-
 tions I have been making, may be thought
 of no great consequence, nor is it pretended
 that they are; but they may prevent some
 improprieties which cannot but be disagree-
 able to so curious and accurate an age as
 this. Who, that has read the history of
 Adolmelick, can read, without pain, the
 description that is given us of this trans-
 action of Samuel’s life, by so considerable a
 prelate as Archbishop Bramhall, in a cele-
 brated place, on a remarkable occasion, and
 before

before a *great* audience²? “When Saul was
 “to be inaugurated king by Samuel, *he set*
 “*nothing before him but a shoulder*, 1 Sam. ix,
 “*a mean dish for a royal entertainment.*” Ac-
 cording to Abdolmelick, he could not have
 set a more delicious one before him. The
 Archbishop goes on to remark, that some
 found a mystery in this dish, which he says
 they might better have called an allegory,
 containing some instruction for a prince re-
 lating to government. This, as will appear
 to those that shall take the pains to peruse
 the passage, is built on the supposition, that
 the breast is what is meant by the sacred
 historian, when, along with the shoulder,
 he mentions *that which was upon it*: a com-
 mon supposition this, but, it should seem,
 a false one.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

[Amos reckons *fat lambs* among the deli-
 cacies of the Israelites¹; and it seems these
 creatures are in the East *extremely delicious*.

The last Observation related to the *shoul-
 der* of a lamb; this relates to their *whole bodies*.
 It takes in *kids* also.

Sir John Chardin, in his manuscript note
 on Amos vi. 4, expresses himself in very
 strong terms on the deliciousness of these

² At York-Minster, before his Excellency the Marquis
 of Newcastle, about to meet the Scotch army. ¹ Amos
 6. 4.

animals in the East. He tells us, *that there, in many places, lambs are spoken of as a sort of food excessively delicious. That one must have eaten of them in several places of Persia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and of their kids, to form a conception of the moisture, taste, delicacy, and fat of this animal; and as the Eastern people are no friends of game, nor of fish, nor fowls, their most delicious food is the lamb and the kid.*

This Observation illustrates those passages that speak of *kids* as used by them for delicious repasts, and presents²; as well as those others that speak of their feasting on *lambs*. It also gives great energy to our apprehensions of what is meant, when the Psalmist talks of *marrow and fatness*.]

XIX.

OBSERVATION XXV.

Ockley, in a note on that piece of history concerning Abdolmelick, mentioned in the last Observation but one, observes that the Arabians had not altered their cookery since Abraham's time, who made use of butter and milk when he entertained the angels, Gen. xviii. 8. The fact is certainly true, that the customs of the Arabs are not altered; but this circumstance of Abdolmelick's entertainment, compared with Abraham's, doth not prove it; the Patriarch's milk and butter might be for an-

² Judges 15. 1. 1 Sam. 16. 20. Luke 15. 29.

other purpose: the above mentioned passage of Samuel's history is much more *certainly* illustrated by it. However, it will be agreeable to consider that patriarchal collation a little distinctly, not only on this account, but for *another purpose*.

Abraham was sitting in his tent-door in the heat of the day; three men presented themselves to him, and he invited them to eat with him; the Angels accepted the invitation; upon which he ordered a beast to be killed for their repast, and cakes of bread to be made. This in a family like that of Abraham, who lived like a prince in that country, appears to us very extraordinary: we are ready to imagine this great Emir should have had a variety of eatables ready killed for his own table, and for the entertainment of such strangers as he should think fit to invite to eat with him. A calf, however, is killed, and presented to these strangers, with butter and milk. This is the story: was the butter melted in the milk, and poured over this meat, like the sauce of Abdolmelick's lamb? or was butter set upon the table as one distinct dish, and milk as a second, to attend on the calf, the principal part of the collation?

A passage from la Roque's account, of the journey of Monsi. d'Arvieux to the *camp* of the great Emir¹, will shew, that Ockley's thought is not so certain as he seems to

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 124—129.

have imagined. This account of la Roque's describes first the hospitality of those Arabs that live in a camp, as Abraham did; and then of those villages that depend upon them, and are under their direction: it appears to be much the same in both, and the only reason why I cite the account that he gives of the hospitality of the Arabs *in their villages*, is, because it is more large and distinct. It is as follows.

“ When strangers enter a village, where
 “ they know no body, they enquire for the
 “ Menzil², and desire to speak with the
 “ Cheikh, who is *as the Lord of it*, or at
 “ least represents his person, and the body
 “ of the community: after saluting him,
 “ they signify their want of a dinner, or of
 “ supping and lodging in the village. The
 “ Cheikh says, they are welcome, and that
 “ *they could not do him a greater pleasure*.
 “ He then marches at the head of the
 “ strangers, and conducts them to the Men-
 “ zil, where also they may alight at once
 “ if the Cheikh is not at home, and ask for
 “ every thing they want. But they *seldom*
 “ have occasion for all this, for as soon as
 “ the people of the village see any strangers
 “ coming, they inform the Cheikh of it,
 “ who goes to meet them, accompanied by
 “ some peasants, or by some of his do-

² The Menzil signifies the place destined for the reception of strangers, and often a lower apartment of the Cheikh's house.

“ mestic, and having saluted them, asks if
 “ they would dine in the village, or whether
 “ they choose to stay the whole night there :
 “ if they answer that they would only eat a
 “ morsel and go forward, and that they
 “ choose to stay under *some tree* a little out
 “ of the village, the Cheikh goes, or sends
 “ his people into the village, to cause a col-
 “ lation to be brought, and in a little time
 “ they return with eggs, *butter*, curds, ho-
 “ ney, olives, fruit fresh or dried, accord-
 “ ing to the season, when they have not
 “ time to cook any meat.” He afterwards
 tells us, that if it is evening, and the strangers
 would lodge in the village, that the women
 belonging to the Cheikh’s house having ob-
 served the number of the guests, “ never
 “ fail to cause fowls, sheep, lambs, or a
 “ *calf* to be *killed*, according to the quantity
 “ of meat which will be wanted for the en-
 “ tertainment of the guests, and of those that
 “ are to bear them company ; and quickly
 “ make it into soup, roast it, and form
 “ out of it many other ragouts after their
 “ way, which they send to the Menzil by
 “ the Cheikh’s servants, in wooden bowls,
 “ which they place on a great round straw
 “ mat, that usually serves them for a table.
 “ —These dishes being set in order, *with*
 “ *many others*, in which are eggs, cheese,
 “ fruit, fallad, *sour curdled milk*, olives, and
 “ all that they have to treat their guests
 “ with, which they set before them at once,

“ that every one may eat as he likes ; the
 “ Cheikh begs of the strangers to sit round
 “ the mat, he himself sitting down with
 “ them³, together with the other peasants
 “ of fashion belonging to the village, in or-
 “ der to do them honour—They make no
 “ use of knives at table, the meat being all
 “ cut into *little bits*.”

We see here Abraham’s hospitality, and his manner of receiving his guests under a *tree*. We see too in what manner the Arabs *now* present butter and milk on such occasions ; and if there is no alteration in their customs, Abraham presented them as *distinct dishes*, butter and sour curdled milk being particularly mentioned among the dishes they present alone, when they have no time to dress meat, and which they set upon the table as side or additional dishes, when they have. On the other hand, though butter and milk was poured over the dish that was so delicious to the palate of Abdolmelick, I do not remember to have ever read, that they pour

[³ Dandini assures us, that among the Maronites, *if any one eats in another’s house, ’tis the master of the house that waits, and serves every one with his glass, so that he has no manner of repose at the table*, chap. 11. What Abraham did, Gen 18. 8, if our translation be just, seems more to resemble this practice of the Maronites, than the account of the Arabs : but it is not impossible, that what Dandini observes might be a compliment to him as *Nuncio*, not the common custom ; and Abraham’s attitude may be intended to express the *extreme reverence* with which he treated the Angels.]

it over those small roasted bits of meat which the Arabs present to strangers.

La Roque's account of them in a following chapter⁴ is, that the Arabs seldom eat roasted meat; that sometimes, at the Emirs, they roast lambs and *kids* whole, (not goats as the English translation renders it;) and as for mutton or beef, they cut it into small pieces, about the *bigness of a walnut*, salt and pepper them, then, having put them on iron skewers of a foot long, they roast them over a small charcoal fire, and *serve them up with chopped onion*. Le Bruyn mentions the onion used by the Eastern people in roasting their beef, and says they cut the meat into little bits, sticking them on a little spit, with a slice of onion between each, which renders them extremely delicate⁵. Russell speaks of the roasting meat in these little bits as the common way at Aleppo; and Pococke in Ægypt, where they are called Cabobs.

We may perhaps have wondered how Abraham came to think of killing a calf, for the entertainment of strangers that only proposed to stop for a short refreshment; but the custom of roasting and seething meat in very small pieces, made it appear a much more *practicable* thing to Abraham, than it may have done to us when we have read the passage.

The Arabs however do not do this in common, and often in such cases content them-

⁴ Chap. 14.

⁵ Tom. 1. p. 427.

selves with presenting to their guests a cold collation ; nor indeed do they often kill a calf in those countries, the Turks esteeming it a folly, and indeed a sin, according to Maillet⁶, to kill an animal so small, which may be at its full growth of such value : both circumstances concur to prove the great liberality of Abraham.

We have had occasion before to remark⁷, that the Eastern people bake their bread as they want it : this account teaches us that they kill their cattle in like manner, just before they eat them, the strangers arriving before the creatures die that are to afford them food. That old Puritan author was very unlucky therefore, in his declamation against the plentiful way of living of our English bishops, in citing Ahimelech's being without any other bread than the shew-bread, when David asked him for an immediate supply of provisions. Abraham was without *bread* or *meat* when these visitants came to him, yet Abraham was very rich, long before this, in cattle, in silver, and in gold. (Gen. xiii. 2.) It was the custom of the country merely that occasioned this.

This observation then teaches us, that it is most probable that Ockley's account of the butter and milk Abraham presented to the Angels is wrong ; and it gives the reader an account of the small pieces in which the Eastern people stew and roast their meat,

⁶ Let. 9.

⁷ Under Observation 3.

which

which is *supposed* in this story concerning the Patriarch.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

XX.

All roasted meat is a *delicacy* among the Arabs, and rarely eaten by them, according to la Roque; *stewed meat* also is, according to him, only to be met with among them at feasts, and great tables, such as those of Princes¹, and consequently a *delicacy* also: the common diet being only boiled meat, with rice-pottage and pilaw.

This is agreeable to Dr. Pococke's account, of an elegant entertainment he met with at Baalbeck, where he tells us they had for supper a roasted fowl, pilaw, *stewed meat, with the soup, &c*²; and of a grand supper prepared for a great man of Ægypt, where he was present, and which consisted, he tells us, of pilaw, a small sheep boiled whole, a lamb roasted in the same manner, roasted fowls, and *many dishes of stewed meat in soup, &c*³.

This soup in which the stewed meat is brought to table, or something very much like it, was, we may believe, the broth that Gideon presented to the Angel, whom he took for a mere mortal messenger of God. Many a reader may have wondered why he should bring out his *broth*, they may have

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 197, 198.² Vol. 2. p. 113.³ Vol. 1. p. 57.

been

been ready to think it would have been better to have kept that within, and have given it to the poor after the supposed Prophet, whom he desired to honour, should be withdrawn, but these passages explain it: the broth, as our translators express it, was, I imagine, the stewed savoury meat he had prepared, with such *sort of liquor* as the Eastern people, at this day, bring their stewed meat in, to the most elegant and honourable tables.

What then is meant by the *flesh* put into the basket, Judg. vi. 19? “ And
 “ Gideon went in, and made ready a kid,
 “ and unleavened cakes of an Ephah of
 “ flour: the *flesh* be put in a basket, and he
 “ put the *broth* in a pot, and brought it out
 “ to him under the oak, and presented it.”
 The preceding quotations certainly do not decypher this perfectly; but I have been inclined to think, there is a passage in Dr. Shaw that entirely unravels this matter, and affords a perfect comment on this text. It is in his preface⁺: “ Besides a bowl of milk, and a
 “ basket of figs, raisins, or dates, which
 “ upon our arrival were presented to us, to
 “ stay our appetites, the master of the tent
 “ where we lodged, fetched us from his flock
 “ (according to the number of our company)
 “ a kid or a goat, a lamb or a sheep, *half*
 “ of which was immediately scethed by his
 “ wife, and served up with cuscasooe; the
 “ rest was made kab-ab, i. e. cut into pieces

“ —and roasted; *which we reserved for our breakfast or dinner next day.*”

May we not imagine that Gideon presenting some slight refreshment to the supposed Prophet, according to the present Arab mode, desired him to stay till he could provide something more substantial for him; that he immediately killed a *kid*, *seethed* part of it, made *kab-ab* of another part of it, and when it was ready, brought out the *stewed-meat* in a *pot*, with unleavened cakes of bread which he had baked; and the *kab-ab* in a *basket* for his carrying away with him, and serving him for some *after-repast* in his journey? Nothing can be more conformable to the present Arab customs, or a more easy explanation of the text; nothing more convenient for the carriage of the reserved meat than a light basket, so Thevenot informs us he carried his ready-dressed meat with him in a maund⁵.

What others may think of the passage I know not, but I never could, till I met with these remarks, account for his bringing the meat out to the Angel in a *basket*.

As for Gideon's leaving the supposed Prophet under a tree, while he was busied in his house, instead of introducing him into some apartment of his habitation, and bringing the repast out to him there, we have seen something of it under the last Observation; I would here add, that not only Arabs that

⁵ Part 1. p. 162.

live in tents, and their dependents, practise it still, but those also that live in houses, as did Gideon. Dr. Pococke frequently observed it among the Maronites, and was so struck with this conformity of theirs to ancient customs, that he could not forbear taking particular notice of it⁶: Lay-men of quality and Ecclesiastics, the Patriarch and Bishops, as well as poor obscure Priests, thus treating their guests⁷.

XXI.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Their common pottage is made by cutting their meat into little pieces, and boiling them with rice, flour, and parsley, all which is afterward poured into a proper vessel. This in their language is called Chorbā¹.

Parsley is used in this Chorbā, and a great many other herbs in their cookery. These are not always gathered out of gardens, even by those that live in a more settled way than the Arabs: for Ruffell, after having given a long account of the garden-stuff at Aleppo, tells us, that besides those from culture, the *fields* afford bugloss, mallow, and asparagus, which they use as pot-herbs, besides some others which they use in salads.

This is the more extraordinary, as they have such a number of gardens about Aleppo, and will take off all wonder from the story

⁶ Vol. 2. p. 96.
dans la Pal. p. 199.

⁷ P. 95, 96, 104.

¹ Voy.

of one's going into the field, to gather herbs, to put into the pottage of the sons of the Prophets, 2 Kings iv. 39, in a time when indeed Ahab, and doubtless some others, had gardens of herbs; but it is not to be supposed things were so brought under culture as in later times.

So the Misnah, a book relating to much later times, speaks of gathering herbs of the field to sell in the markets².

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

XXII.

The quantity of *meat* in this pottage is small: and, indeed, they eat very little meat in the East, in comparison of what we do, "Bread, dibbs, leban, butter, rice, and a *very little mutton*, make the chief of their food in the winter," Dr. Ruffell says', speaking of the common people of Aleppo; "as rice, bread, cheese, and fruit, do in the summer."

Dr. Shaw gives the like account of the abstemiousness of the Arabs², and this though they have such numbers of cattle, that an Arab tribe, which can bring but three or four hundred horse into the field, shall be possessed of more than so many thousand camels, and triple that number of sheep and black cattle. The Arabs, he says, rarely diminishing their flocks by using them for food, but living chiefly upon bread, milk,

² In titulo Shebiith.¹ P. 108.² P. 169.

butter,

butter, dates, or what they receive in exchange for their wool.

The reason of this sparingness is not because *animal food* is not agreeable to them; no! Dr. Russell assures us, that at Aleppo they that can afford it, and dare shew it, are far from being that abstemious people many imagine those of the East to be³: it arises then from the straitness of their circumstances. And though the Arabs abound in cattle, yet being forced to draw all the other conveniencies of life from the profit they make of *them*, they kill very few for their *own use*. The Israelites were in much the same situation, great strangers to trade and manufactures, their patrimony but small, as they were so numerous, and therefore Solomon might, with great propriety, describe a ruinously expensive way of living by their *frequent eating of flesh*, Prov. xxiii. 20, which in our country would be expressed in a *very different* manner.

A dinner however on *herbs alone* is not what the *ordinary* people of Aleppo are obliged to content themselves with, sparing as their way of living may be: a thought that may serve to illustrate Prov. xv. 17, where the contrast between the repasts of the rich and the poor is designed to be *strongly* marked.

³ P. 105.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

XXIII.

These circumstances of the Israelites, however, did not, *in any wise*, forbid their indulging themselves in eating the flesh of *wild creatures*, which was then thought, as it is now, to be, much of it, very delicious: since the cultivating the small portion of land, that fell to the share of each, could by no means find them full employment; and only labour, besides time, was requisite for the catching those animals, which, when caught, could be put to no more profitable use, than the making their own repasts so much the more delicious. It is for this reason, I apprehend, that Solomon made this *an instance of diligence*, Prov. xii. 27, which would never have been mentioned as such by an English author in our times; but, agreeably to this instruction of Solomon, the present Arabs frequently exercise themselves with *hunting* in the Holy-Land¹.

There is something particular in the word used in this passage of Solomon, it is not the word that is commonly used for roasting, but it signifies rather singeing, as appears from Dan. iii. 27. No author, I think, gives us any account what this should mean, understood in this sense. Besides wild-boars, antelopes, and hares, which are particularly mentioned by d'Arvieux, when he speaks of

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 243.

the

the Arabs as diverting themselves with hunting in the Holy-Land, Dr. Shaw tells us, all kinds of game are found in great plenty in that country²; but I do not remember an account of any thing's being prepared for food by singeing, that is taken either in hunting or hawking, except hares³, which I have indeed somewhere read of as dressed, in the East, after this manner: an hole being dug in the ground, and the earth scooped out of it laid all round its edge, the brushwood with which it is filled is set on fire, the hare is thrown unskinned into the hole, and afterwards covered up with the heated earth that was laid round about it, where it continues till it is thought to be done enough, and then being brought to table, sprinkled with salt, is found to be very *agreeable* food⁴.

But if Solomon refers to this, and our translation of Lev. xi. 6, and Deut. xiv. 7, be exact, the ancient Israelites were not near so scrupulous as their posterity have been; but of this we find traces in the Old Testament history as to other injunctions of their law. They may be found in 2 Chron. xxxv. 18, Ch. xxxvi. 21, and more evidently still in Neh. viii. 17.

² P. 347. ³ Unless, it may be, hedge-hogs, which, according to an author in the *Miscell. Cur.* is reckoned a *princely dish* in Barbary, and which he says is singed after its throat is cut, and its spines cut off. Vol. 3. p. 389. But this animal must have been as unlawful to the Jews as an hare. ⁴ Ruffell gives this account, p. 55.

[To these observations, relating to the hunting of the Israelites, we may add a remark from Haffelquist, who tells us, (p. 190,) that he had an excellent opportunity of seeing the manner in which the Arabians hunt the *Capra Cervicapra*, near Nazareth, in Galilee. An Arab, mounting a swift courser, held a falcon in his hand, which he let loose when he saw the animal on the top of a mountain. The falcon attacked it from time to time, fastening its talons on or near the throat, till the huntsman coming up, took it alive, and cut it's throat; the falcon drinking the *blood*, as a reward for his labour. If the Israelites hunted anciently in this manner, this was another point in which they were not very observant of the law. Perhaps Moses, on account of this old Arab way of hunting, might not only order the blood to be let out of creatures taken in hunting, which the Arabs, in this case at least, practise, but that it should be covered with dust, and not given as food to the creatures whose assistance was wont to be used in hunting.]

OBSERVATION XXX.

Dr. Pococke has given us an account ¹ of the way in which the Bey of Tunis lived, in 1733; not that his way of living differed from that of other Beys, it should seem, but merely as a curiosity he could present his

¹ Vol. I. p. 266, &c.

readers with. After describing some soups taken by him in the morning, he tells us, that he was wont to dine at eleven; that the grandees sat near him; that when they had eaten, others sat down, and the poor took away what was left. His provisions were twelve sheep every day, dressed in three different manners—with a rice-pilaw—with oranges and eggs—and, thirdly, with onions and butter. Besides the mutton, there was wont to be cuscufow, which they eat with the broth; and also boiled fish or fowls, with lemon or orange-sauce. An hour before sunset they eat as before.

But, besides the *curiosity* of this account, it may serve to illustrate what is said in the Scriptures of some eminent personages, and the comparing the one with the other gives a very sensible pleasure. The Bey of Tunis is not a *great prince*; he is, however, at the head of a *very considerable* people: yet Nehemiah seems to have equalled him in his way of living, his daily provision being, besides fowls, six choice sheep, and an ox. Beef is not now much relished by the Eastern people: they are ready to think it a coarse kind of food; and Mons. Maillet observes², that the great people of Ægypt would think they dishonoured themselves, if they should have it served up on their tables; and that they were always surprized to see it at his, who was the representative of so great a

² Lett. 11. p. 109, and Lett. 12. p. 154.

prince as the king of France. According to Dr. Ruffell, indeed, there begins to be a change at Aleppo, as to this point, among the Christian inhabitants; but the rest are are still averse to beef. That mutton is, in the East, the *favourite meat*, all agree; but it appears, from many passages of Scripture, that beef was, *anciently*, in high esteem in Judæa; and, consequently, the having an ox every day was no meanness at the table of Nehemiah³. And as to abundance, his table must be at least equal to that of the Bey of Tunis. I am aware that Dr. Shaw observes, that the neat cattle of Barbary are very small, and that the fattest, when brought from the stall, weigh no more than five or six hundred pounds⁴: however, we may reckon an ox to be equivalent to six sheep at least; and therefore, that Nehemiah lived, in the ruined country of Judæa, with a splendor *equal* to that of a Bey of Tunis.

The friend of Dr. Pococke, from whom he had his account, did not, it should seem, inform him what number of persons lived from the Bey's table; but Maillet tells us⁵, that a sheep, with a proper proportion of

[³ Notwithstanding the degrading view in which the modern Eastern people look upon the flesh of this animal, Maillet assures us, that it's flesh is *admirable*, especially in that season when the meadows are covered with verdure. That it is not surpassed by that of the oxen of Hungary, or of any other country. It has this excellence also, that it is extremely nourishing. Lett. 9. p. 27.] ⁴ P. 168.

⁵ Lett. 11. p. 110.

rice, and consequently of bread, will suffice threescore people: at the same rate twelve sheep then will serve seven hundred and twenty. But as the Bey had *two* meals a day, *of much the same kind*, his table, according to this computation, maintained, allowing for the fish and fowl, near four hundred people. This calculation agrees very well with the history of Nehemiah, which telleth us, that he entertained those that came to him continually from the heathen; besides an hundred and fifty Jews and Rulers; some of these had attendants, doubtless, and his own servants must have been numerous; could they in the whole have been much fewer than four hundred persons*?

But it is to be thought that Eastern magnificence has risen much higher than this. Nehemiah and a Bey of Tunis were much beneath many of the princes of those countries; and, indeed, we find that private no-

[* This part of the history of Nehemiah, concerning the expense of his table, which was defrayed out of his own private fortunes, Neh. 5. 18, clearly explains what the excuse means, mentioned *Is.* 3. 7, so far as relates to *bread*; but it is not so clear why the man declined being a Ruler, because he had no quantity of *clothing* by him, in which the Eastern treasures anciently very much consisted. It may signify, he had not wherewithal to equip his attendants, in the manner they ought to be in such a case, the *servants of the Great* in the East being wont to be magnificently dressed; or it may mean, that he had not what might be used for making such *presents* as such a situation would require him to make, on several occasions. See ch. 6. *Obf.* 30, 31.]

bles, in happier times, or in more flourishing kingdoms, have greatly exceeded them : so Maillet, in a passage I shall presently cite from him, affirms, that the great lords of Ægypt, who are only private persons, generally keep in attendance *a thousand or twelve hundred* persons.

Solomon was, indisputably, the most magnificent of the Jewish kings, and accordingly his retinue was very numerous, and greatly exceeded that of these Ægyptian nobles of Maillet : What is said, 1 Kings xi. 3, puts it out of all manner of doubt, but the *data* are hardly sufficient to determine how many were fed from his table. His provisions for a day were, thirty measures of fine flour, and threescore of meal, *ten* fat oxen, *twenty* out of the pastures, and an *hundred* sheep, besides venison and fatted fowl : if we compare the abundance of his table with that of Nehemiah, and estimate the difference by the sheep, it was about seventeen times as much ; if by the beef thirty times : only it is to be remembered, that ten only of Solomon's oxen were fatted, the rest being out of the pastures ; perhaps therefore the proportion upon the whole might be as twenty to one, and consequently, that Solomon's table fed about eight thousand persons of all sorts ⁷, wives, ministers of
Z 3
state,

[⁷ Mons. Voltaire's account differs very much from this. In his *Raison par Alphabet*, under the article Salomon, he tells

state, foreigners, servants, and (like the table of Nehemiah, the Bey of Tunis, and the Arab Princes,) the poor.

This abundance, however, appears to have been afterward exceeded in Ægypt. The royal feasts of Mohammed Ebn Toulon⁸, or Mohammed the son of Toulon, Maillet tells us⁹, from the Arabian writers, were so abundant as to feed fourteen thousand persons, who belonged to the different offices of his household. The quintals of *meat*, butter, sugar, which they daily employed for the pastry-work alone, of which these historians, he says, give an exact list, were so numerous as to appear incredible. So also does the quantity of *sheep*, *pullets*, *pigeons*, and spices, which were daily consumed in cookery. As to oxen, no mention was made of them, because, as he had elsewhere observed, the flesh

tells us, “ they daily served up for the dinner and supper
 “ of his household fifty oxen and an hundred sheep, and
 “ fowl and game in proportion; which might amount to
 “ sixty thousand pounds weight of meat a day. A very
 “ plentiful table this!” The Jewish Scriptures speak only of thirty oxen a day, and describe ten of them only as highly fatted, 1 Kings 4. 23; the authentic documents from whence Voltaire was enabled to correct this account, making them fifty, as well as the proofs we are to suppose he had, of the gigantic size of the animals of Solomon’s age, are *secrets* he has not thought proper to divulge. It is certain from Dr. Russell, as well as from Shaw and Maillet, that *fifty* oxen, allowing him right in that point, many of them not very fat, would not weigh the half of sixty thousand pounds in our times, whatever they might do in the East in Solomon’s days.] ⁸ He lived about nine hundred years ago. ⁹ Lett. 12. 154, 155.

of that animal never appears in Ægypt on the tables of people of figure. He goes on to inform us, that the tables of the Turks are not delicate, abundance serving with them instead of delicacy; it being common with them to have the remains of what was served up for the use of a great Lord, and eight or ten persons of his family, sufficient for the support of an hundred other persons, who place themselves, one after another, on the ground about the table, cross-legged, like taylors. “ So that a dozen of these tables
“ in different parts of an house, and served
“ almost at the same time, are sufficient for
“ a thousand or twelve hundred persons, that
“ a Bey, or other great Lord of this coun-
“ try, generally keeps in attendance.”

The number of attendants the great men of the East affect, the supposed magnificence of abundance of provision, and the charity in the custom of giving what remains to the poor, all conspired to make the quantity of provisions consumed by these eminent personages, both of more ancient and of more modern times, very large.

Ebn Toulon, as to the *magnificence of his table*, surpassed all the other Kings of Ægypt, ever reckoned one of the richest and most fruitful countries in the world. Maillet expresses astonishment at it. How magnificent then, considering the difference of countries, the table of Solomon! With what royal splendor did he govern Israel! exceeded

only, perhaps, by an after-king of a country, always looked upon as very opulent, always *affecting superbness*, but far surpassing every *Jewish* prince in grandeur, every *contemporary* King, without any manner of doubt.

XXV.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

The learned are undetermined as to the sense we are to put on the words translated fatted fowl, in the account that is given us of the provision for Solomon's table, 1 Kings iv. 23, the meaning of one of the original words not being certainly known; but the pullets and the pigeons of Mohammed Ebn Toulon explain, without doubt, the fowls that were prepared for Nehemiah, these *only* being mentioned by Maillet in his account of the provisions of this Ægyptian Prince, and these being the *chief*, and *almost the only* fowls that are mentioned on these occasions in the East, by other writers¹.

Fowls

¹ So Pellow tells us, the provisions prepared for his wedding-feast, besides what his brother-in-law gave, were a fat bullock, four sheep, *two dozen of large fowls, twelve dozen of young pigeons*, one hundred and fifty pounds weight of fine flour, and fifty pounds of butter, besides honey, spices, &c, all which, his wedding holding three days, was fairly consumed, with a great deal of mirth and friendly satisfaction. (p. 73.) So though Ruffell speaks of the turkey, goose, and duck, as used at Aleppo for food, besides the hen-kind and pigeons, and, after mentioning water-hens, water-rails, wild-geese, wild-duck

Fowls also are still sent in the Holy-Land by the people to their great men, for the use of their tables. So when the Emir Dervich happened to come to Tartoura, and was disposed to pass the night in its neighbourhood, d'Arvieux, who was with him, observed that nothing was more easy than the obeying his orders, when he directed a supper to be got ready for him, all people at Tartoura being forward to bring him presents of meat, *poultry*, game, fruit, and coffee. Voy. dans la Pal. p. 67.

The villages of Ægypt, Dr. Pococke found², are wont to send in like manner provisions to their great men when they tra-

duck and mallard, several kinds of widgeon, coots, spoon-bills, and teal, adds, with which the tables of the Europeans are plentifully supplied, and *some* eaten by the natives in winter (p. 63, 64,) yet I do not remember to have observed any of them taken notice of by Dr. Pococke, or other writers that give us an account of the Eastern collations they were present at. [It may not, however, be improper to observe, that according to Albertus Aquentis, (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 285,) an Eastern Patriarch sent to Godfrey, afterwards King of Jerusalem, and the other Princes that besieged that city, besides pomegranates and rich wine, *fatted peacocks*. The curious will do well to consider, whether the fatted *barburim* of Solomon mean fowls of this sort; and whether the term may be supposed to give any intimation of the country from whence they were originally brought. D'Herbelot mentions two different countries called *Barbary* by the people of the East, the one on the coast of the Mediterranean, commonly known by that name; the other, which he calls the *Ethiopic Barbary*, lies on the Ethiopic Ocean, between the Red-Sea and Mozambique, near a gulf which Ptolemy calls *Sinus Barbaricus*.]

² Vol. 1. p. 56.

vel, for he observed, that those villages that happened to be nearest the place where the Governor of Faiume stopped, in whose company he travelled, used to send a supper for him and his attendants. Presents of the like kind, or rather regular contributions of this sort, is undoubtedly what Nehemiah refers to, when he says of his predecessors, that they had been chargeable to the people, and had taken of them *bread and wine*, besides shekels of silver; whereas he kept as bountiful a table as any of them at his own expense, and then mentions the ox, the six sheep, the fowls, and the wine.

XXVI.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

As the Arabs serve up all at once the things they intend for their guests¹, so Olearius gives us to understand it is also the Persian custom, and that the viands are distributed by a domestic, who takes portions of divers sorts out of the large dishes in which they are severally served up, and lays four or five different kinds of meat in one smaller dish; these are set, furnished after this manner, before those whom they entertain: one of these smaller dishes being placed before two persons only, or at most three². The same practice obtains, he tells us, at the royal table itself³.

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 128.² P. 472.³ P. 710.

This

This is not the custom at Aleppo. There, among the great, the several dishes are brought in *one by one*, according to Dr. Russell⁴, the company eating a little of each, after which they are removed⁵. The modern managements of the Eastern people then, in their entertainments, are not similar; they might not be so anciently. May we not then suppose, that the ancient Ægyptians treated their guests in a manner a good deal resembling the way of the modern Persians? What else was the honour done to Benjamin, in making his mess five times larger than those of his brethren? Gen. xliii. 34. Each man had, doubtless, enough, and to spare, answerable to the magnificence of the person that entertained them, and the having five times more than the rest could have been of no advantage to him⁶, unless we suppose enough was set before him *of each sort* of provision for his *complete* repast, in case he should prefer any one to the rest; or else that a much greater *variety* was set before him than before his brethren, ten or fifteen different things being placed before him, it

⁴ P. 105.

⁵ Egmont and Heyman observed the same thing, in an entertainment given the English Ambassador by the Grand Vizier in a plain near Constantinople; after the first course was removed, thirty dishes of roasted fowls, partridges, &c, were *successively* served up. Vol. I. p. 218. [⁶ What is added to this Observation, in this second edition, will however shew that Sir J. Chardin apprehends this is what was meant.

may be, while two or three only were set before the other⁷.

Every circumstance of this old Ægyptian entertainment seems to agree with Olearius's account of the Persian, and, in particular, their being placed in a row on one side of the room, none being opposite to them; which Olearius remarks in his account, and which, with a distinct dish being placed before each of them with different kinds of food, seems to have been what occasioned that *marvelling* the sacred historian mentions, Gen. xliii. 33, rather than any thing else; they being wont, instead of this variety, solemnity, and order, to eat in a confused huddled way of one single dish, a good deal, we may believe, like those Arabs dining on the borders of the Nile, who attracted the attention of le Bruyn: "They sat on the ground," says he, "and had in the middle of them a large wooden dish of milk, into which they dipped by turns their hands, supping the milk afterwards out of them". Such a contrast between

⁷ This would be agreeable to Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain's account of a great entertainment at which he was present in India. *The Ambassador*, he tells us, *had more dishes by ten, and he less by ten, than their entertainer had*, (who was the Great Mogul's brother-in-law,) yet *that he* (the chaplain) *himself had for his part fifty*, p. 408. Here we see the distinction made by the number of dishes set before each. The reader will judge for himself, which is the most natural sense to put on the account of the sacred historian, that Joseph's mess was five times as much as any of his brethren's.] ⁸ Tom. i. p. 586.

this solemnity and order, (being bidden to sit down according to their age,) and their common confused way of eating; and between this variety and sumptuousness, and their mean repasts; was enough to produce astonishment, and much more easily accounts for it, than the supposing Joseph ranged them in order, and that his brethren imagined he did it by divination, as some commentators have done*.

[Sir J. Chardin has a note on this account of Joseph's entertainment, which will be an agreeable addition to what I have been saying, as it *confirms* and *enlarges* the account I before gave. *I see, in these verses, says his MS, many customs, which are the same with those generally practised through all the East. They do not in common make use of a table, or chairs; the floors of the houses are covered with mats, pieces of felt, or carpets. Among those that are any thing rich there are, besides, embroidered or stitched coverings four feet broad, and cushions placed against the wall to lean upon. All these things are embroidered with gold, among people of quality. When the provisions are served up, they spread a cloth whose breadth and length is proportioned to the hall when it is full of people, and smaller when there are fewer persons; at the same time they serve up the provisions, beginning with the bread. In Turkey all eat together, and many out of one dish; and I apprehend the Turks do not consider it as forbidden and unlaw-*

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

ful to eat with people of a different religion, &c; but it is otherwise in Persia, in Arabia, and in the Indies: all the people of these countries abhor one another so much, (except the Christians,) that they would think themselves defiled, and made impure, by being touched by people of a different faith, or by eating out of the same dish. It is for this reason, I am of opinion, that they are wont to serve up every one's food by itself. A carver parts each dish (which, he observes in the margin, is set before the master of the house, or the principal guest, or in the middle of the hall,) into as many portions, put into different plates, as there are people to eat, which are placed before them. There are some houses where they place several plates in large salvers, either round, long, or square, and they set one of these before each person, or before two or three persons, according to the magnificence of each house. The great men of the state are always served by themselves, (and with greater profusion, the margin says, their part of each kind of provision being always double, treble, or a larger proportion of each kind of meat,) in the feasts that are made for them. We now shall be better able to conceive of the order of the feast Joseph made for his brethren: when it is said in the 33d verse, "that they sat before him," it signifies that Joseph sat at the upper end of the hall, his brethren at the lower end, and the Ægyptians by the sides. As for Benjamin's mess being five times as much as any of his brethren's, which is mentioned in

the

the 34th verse, it may be understood to mean that he had five times as much of every thing as they; or that the vessel in which he was served was five times larger: but the first notion agrees best with the customs and managements of the East.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

The eating at courts is of two kinds; the one *public and solemn*, the other *private*: might not the intention of those passages, that speak of a right to eat at a royal table, be to point out a right to a seat there when the repast was *public and solemn*?

Sir John Chardin understood it after this manner. So when dying King David directed his son Solomon, to shew kindness to the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and to let them be of those that should eat at his table, he tells us, in a note in his MS, *that this was to be understood of the Megelez*¹, *not of the daily and ordinary repasts there. Now at these Megelez*, he observes, *many persons have a right to a seat, others have a right there from special grace, and extraordinarily. In this passage we are to understand their receiving a right to attend at those times.*

He understands 2 Kings xxv. 28, 29. after the same manner, as signifying *Evil-Merodach's placing Jehoiakim at the Megelez before other Princes.* Thus in his Coronation of

¹ This word occurs several times in his coronation of Solyman III, and is explained as signifying an assembly of Lords, or public feast.

Solyman III. he describes a young captive Tartar Prince, as admitted by the King of Persia to his Megelez, p. 116.

This notion seems to be confirmed by David's not being expected at the table of Saul till *the day of the new-moon*, and his being looked for then, 1 Sam. xx. 25.

To which I would add, that understanding things after this manner removes embarrassment from what is said concerning *Mephibosheth*, in 2 Sam. ix. Though he was to eat at all public times at the King's table, yet he would want the produce of his lands for food *at other times*. It was very proper also for David to mention to Ziba the circumstance of his being to eat at all *public times*, as one of his own sons, at the royal table, that Ziba might understand it would be requisite for him to bring the produce of the lands to Jerusalem; and that in such quantities too, as to support Mephibosheth in a manner answerable to the dignity of one that attended at all public times at court.

“Thou shalt bring in the fruits, that thy
 “master's son may have food to eat: and”
 (for that, I apprehend, is the particle our translators should have made use of, not but)
 “Mephibosheth, thy master's son, shall eat
 “bread always at my table.” 2 Sam. ix. 10.

Thus along with his admission to the royal assemblies, considerable pensions were assigned the young Tartar Prince for his maintenance,
 by

by the King of Persia, according to Sir J. Chardin.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

The Eastern Princes, and the Eastern people, not only invite their friends to feasts, *but it is their custom to send a portion of the banquet to those that cannot well come to it, especially their relations, and those in a state of mourning.*

This is the account the MS. C. gives us, in a note on a passage of the Apocrypha, 1 Esdr. ix. 51. It is equally applicable to Neh. viii. 10, 12, and Esth. ix. 19, 22. *This sending of portions to those for whom nothing was prepared* has been understood, by those commentators I have consulted, to mean *the poor*; *sending of portions however to one another*, is expressly distinguished in Esth. ix. 22. *from gifts to the poor.* There would not have been the shadow of a difficulty in this, had the historian been speaking of a *private feast*, but he is describing a *national festival*, where every one was supposed to be equally concerned: those then for whom nothing was prepared, it should seem, means those that were *in a state of mourning.* Mourning for private calamities being here supposed to take place of rejoicing for public concerns.

But it is not only to those that are in a state of mourning that provisions are sometimes sent; others are honoured by princes

in the same manner, who could not conveniently attend the royal table, or to whom it was supposed not to be convenient.

So when the Grand Emir found it incomed Monfieur d'Arvieux to eat with him, he complaisantly desired him to take his own time for eating, and sent him what he liked, from his kitchen, and at the time he chose¹. And thus, when king David would needs suppose, for secret reasons, too well known to himself, that it would be inconvenient for Uriah to continue at the royal palace; and therefore dismissed him to his own house; "there followed him a mess of meat from the king," 2 Sam. xi. 8, 10.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

The women do not eat with the men, in the Eastern feasts: they, however, are not forgotten; it being usual for them to feast, at the same time, by themselves.

So at the same time that Ahafuerus feasted the men, the sacred historian telleth us, "Vashti the queen made a feast for the women, in the royal house," Esth. i. 9. The MS. C. tells us, this is the *custom of Persia, and of all the East: the women have their feasts, at the same time, but apart from the men.*

And thus Maillet, after having given a most pompous and brilliant account of the extraordinary feasting at the castle of Grand

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 20, 21.

Cairo, upon the circumcision of the son of the Bashaw of Ægypt, tells us at the close, that “ he was assured that the expence, which “ was incurred at the same time in the apart- “ ments of the women of the Bashaw, was “ not much less considerable than what ap- “ peared in public; there being there the “ same liberalities, the same pleasures, the “ same abundance, the same magnificence, “ that appeared out of those apartments².

It is, doubtless, for the same reason, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride are *distinctly* mentioned, Jer. xxv. 10, and in other places—the noise of mirth was heard, that is, in *different* apartments. There is *no* feast in the East, according to Sir J. Chardin’s MS³, without music and dances; certainly then they are not omitted in nuptial solemnities; and their noise, I presume, is what we are to understand by the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride, not their voices *personally* considered. The modern Eastern brides we know, at least many of them, are the occasion of making a great deal of *noisy* mirth; *but they themselves are remarkably silent*.

The light of the candle, mentioned by the Prophet in this passage, is not, I should apprehend, to be limited to nuptial solemnities, but to be considered as expressing joy in general. *Lights*, however, were used in a very particular manner in their marriage-

² Let. 10. p. 79.

³ Note on Luke 15. 25.

festivities: this appears from the second of the Apocryphal books of Esdras, on which the MS. C. has a note that is too curious to be lost—*This refers to the custom of the East, where there are wont to be two large wax-tapers, in the chamber of the bridegroom, where the feast is kept, which are held by his godfathers, (for they do not put them into candlesticks,) and are as high as a man. There is another of the like kind in the bride's apartment.*

I am aware that Dr. Shaw has mentioned this separation of the two sexes in the East in their feasts; but perhaps my reader may not be displeas'd with these additional accounts; especially as they contain some circumstances not mentioned, I think, by him.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

The Eastern people begin to eat *as soon as it is day*, though it is but a *small* repast they then take.

This appears in several places of our books of travels, and is expressly taken notice of by Sir J. Chardin in his MS, and applied to the illustration of a passage to which this custom has, I should suppose, no relation¹; but as it may, possibly, be of some use with respect to some other places, I would not omit setting down his remark.

¹ Pl. 90. 14.

The greatest part of the people of the East eat a little morsel as soon as the day breaks— But it is very little they then eat, a little cake, or a mouthful of bread; drinking a dish or two of coffee. This is very agreeable in hot countries; in cold, people eat more.

If this was customary in Judæa, we are not to understand the words of the Levite's father-in-law, Judges xix. 5, "Comfort thine heart with a morsel of bread, and afterward go your way," which are nearly repeated, ver. 8, as signifying *Stay and breakfast*, that is done, it seems, extremely early; but the words appear to mean *Stay and dine*: the other circumstances of the story perfectly agree with this account,

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

Abstaining from *wine* and from *rich food* is no injury to the complexion, or health, of people in those countries: what is said therefore of the effects of the abstemiousness of Daniel and his companions' might be nothing extraordinary, and out of the common course of things.

So Sir J. Chardin observes, that without considering whether there was any thing miraculous in the case of Daniel, *it is true, and I have remarked this, that the countenances of the Kechicks are in fact more rosy and smooth* [than those of others], *and that these people,*

¹ Dan. i. 15.

who fast much, I mean the Armenians and the Greeks, are notwithstanding very beautiful, sparkling with health, with a clear and lively countenance. He afterwards takes notice of the very great abstemiousness of the Brachmans in the Indies, who lodge on the ground, abstain from women², from music, from all sorts of agreeable smells, who go very meanly clothed, are almost always wet, either by going into water, or by rain, &c; yet I have seen also many of them very handsome and healthful.

There is no necessity then of supposing any thing miraculous in the case of Daniel and his associates; or that he apprehended a divine interposition requisite to save Melzar from the displeasure of the King: he knew the salutary effects of great temperance, and he did not apprehend they would be less, when united with religious care not to incur any pollutions forbidden by the law of his ancestors; and he was not mistaken as to the event. It is very possible a little more abstemiousness in European courts would be no injury to the complexion, the health, or the sagacity of those that execute offices there, or are expecting great employments.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

The people of the East frequently place their dishes of food on *mats*, and I should imagine they did so in the days of Job.

² He says they are first married, and have one child, and then leave their wives.

That

That they place them on mats now, appears from d'Arvieux's account of the supper the inhabitants of a village in Palestine prepared for him, which, it seems, consisted of fried fish, eggs, rice, &c, placed upon a *mat*, or, as he expresses it, a round table made of straw stitched together¹. I have met with the same circumstance in other travellers.

Perhaps this custom is as ancient as the time of *Job*, and that there is a reference to it in those words, ch. xli. 20, "Out of his nostrils goeth smoke as out of a *dud* and an *agmon*." Our translators render these two words a *seething-pot* and a *caldron*; but this last word every where else is translated a *rush*, or a *bulrush*, excepting *Job* xli. 2, where the English word is *brook*. No mortal can conceive, I apprehend, any relation between these things and a *caldron*, but there is a very plain one between a *rush* and a *mat*, which is defined, "a texture of sedge, flags, or *rushes*." Another kindred word, derived from the same root, signifies a *pool*, where such plants as the things that compose a *mat* grow.

I am inclined therefore to believe the word *agmon* signifies a mat, from which, covered with various dishes of hot food, a great steam ascended. It is certainly much more natural to translate the word *agmon* by the word *mat* than *caldron*, and perhaps rather

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 29, & p. 128. ² Johnson's Dict.

more natural than to understand the comparison, as some have done, of the *mist* that arises from low lands in general, which is by no means limited to pools of water, which the word is supposed to signify.

The word *dud* seems to have been translated, with as little probability, *seething-pot*, since it appears, from Jer. xxiv. 2, to signify a vessel proper for the putting *figs* in; and *clay*, according to Psalm lxxxi. 6. But what it precisely signifies may be very difficult to determine. I shall however have occasion to resume the consideration of the *dud*, under the next Observation.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

It may be difficult also, after all that can be done, to make out the precise meaning of several of the terms used to denote the utensils of the ancient Jews, for *preparing their food*, &c; but the affair has been rendered still more obscure, by our translators varying so extremely in their translations of those terms; and though this matter may seem to be of little consequence, *curiosity* is always concerned in unravelling things of this kind, and sometimes it may be of a little importance, for the due understanding a passage.

Our translators sometimes use one English word, to translate several Hebrew terms, which seem to be made use of to denote vessels

vessels of a very different kind from each other. So the word *cruse*, which, according to Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, signifies a small cup, is given us as a translation of three different Hebrew terms, of which not one seems to mean a *small cup*, but one a *pitcher*, another a *dish*, and a third a *boney-pot*.

At other times, on the contrary, they translate one and the same Hebrew word by different English terms. So the word *tzallacath*, or *tzelochith*, is translated *cruse*, 2 Kings ii. 20; *dish*, 2 Kings xxi. 13; *pan*, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13; and in the two similar places of the Book of Proverbs, ch. xix. 24, and ch. xxvi. 15, *bosom*. It is used, that is, in distinct passages, but four times in the Scriptures, and a distinct English term is each time made use of. The word should, I apprehend, have been translated *dish* invariably in all the four places.

Ours are, however, not the only translators guilty of this inattention; those of the Septuagint version are as faulty; but still it is the occasion of great confusion, and as it may be agreeable, to some readers at least, to endeavour to disembroil these things as far as we can, I would here set down such remarks as have occurred to me, as I do not know any place in this work where they could be brought in with greater propriety.

The utensils of the *Arabs* then, who retain the most of any nation ancient usages,
and

who content themselves with the *necessaries of life*, are, according to authors, as followeth: *bowls, a pot, a kettle*¹, *a small hand-mill, some pitchers, with goat's-hair sacks, trunks and hampers covered with skin*, for the removing their goods², *leather-bottles*³, *diskes*⁴, with great *jars* for keeping their corn, according to Norden⁵.

It appears from Plaisstead, describing his journey over a prodigious desert, where they were obliged to bring their conveniences into a very narrow compass, that two or three kinds of leather bottles are used in such a situation: one very large, for the reception of a great quantity of liquor, which he calls *skins*; and smaller vessels of leather, which he calls *bottles*; the smallest sort of all he distinguishes by the particular name of *matarras*⁶.

Sephel, or *saph*, is the Hebrew word, I should apprehend, for the first of these utensils, or *bowls*. I say *sephel*, or *saph*, because it appears to me not improbable, that not only the same utensil is meant in those places where these two words are found, but that the original design was to express a *basin* by one word only, and not to make use of two, in so scanty a language. As the Hebrew writings are now divided into words, *sephel* undoubtedly signifies an *Arab bowl*, for it expresses that utensil that *Jael*,

¹ Shaw. p. 231.

² Voy. dans la Pal. ch. 12.

³ P. 195.

⁴ P. 199.

⁵ Vol. 2. p. 119.

⁶ P. 30.

who

who was of an *Arab* family, and lived in *tents* as they do, made use of, when she presented butter-milk to Sifera, Judges v. 25. It appears no where else, I think, but in Judges vi. 38, where it signifies a vessel proper for squeezing water into. But were we now to divide an ancient Hebrew copy of this book, written according to the ancient manner, without any division, even into words, I do not see why we might not form a word in these two places by the two first letters, writing the third letter (lamed) with the succeeding ones. Lamed, according to Noldius, is used sometimes to give the construction of an adjective to the word to which it is prefixed, so *Banglil Laarek*, Pf. xii. 6, is a furnace of earth, or an earthen vessel proper for the purification of silver; in like manner, if instead of writing lamed with the word which signifies bowl, we should join it to the following word, it would equally signify, in Judges v. 25, lordly bowl, and in Judges vi. 38, water-bowl, as in the present way of placing the letters, only the word would be *saph* instead of *sephel*.

However, supposing the present division perfectly authentic, the words *Sephel* and *Saph* are so near each other, that since *Sephel* signifies bowl, such as the Arabs use, I should apprehend *Saph* might signify the same kind of vessel. It is certain there is
nothing

nothing in the six places in which it is used, that opposes such an interpretation ⁷.

Sir, from a collation of all the passages in which it occurs, seems to mean the Arab *pot* for boiling meat. It appears, by a circumstance mentioned 2 Kings iv. 38, to have been made of different sizes; but should never, I imagine, have been translated *cal-dron*, as it sometimes is in our version. The vessel used for the removing ashes, mentioned Exod. xxvii. 3, and some of the vessels used about the sacred candlestick, or the altar of incense, seem to have received their denomination from their being in form like their seething-pots.

Kallacath is the word that seems to mean the *kettle* of the Arabs, such a great utensil as those in which they sometimes stew a whole lamb or kid. It is found only in two places of Scripture.

⁷ Jars and *pitchers* for fetching water for numbers of people, and for drinking out of; *bowls* for kneading their bread, and afterwards for eating out of, must have been most necessary to the people that attended King David to Mahanaim: and consequently the first probably were the *earthen vessels* brought to them; and the *bowls* being of *wood* or *copper* tinned, were what our version calls *basins*. The Septuagint talks of *pots*, which also were very necessary; but not so much as *bowls*. These however, most probably, were sent, being so necessary for preparing their food, though they are not particularly mentioned. So wine, without doubt, was furnished by them with the other provisions, though this is not expressly said. To this is to be added, that the copies the Septuagint translated from seem, in this place, to have been somewhat different from those we have.

Dishes, or *plates*, are conveniencies that the Arabs themselves have; and Plaistead, when he proposed to *reduce* the number of travelling utensils, recommends copper *plates*, as well as *sneakers* or *bowls*, p. 34: I have already observed, that *Tzelochith* or *Tzallacath* seems to be the Hebrew term for this utensil. Our translators render the word *dish*, in one place, 2 Kings xxi. 13; but by three different words, in the other places.

Cad, I have shewn in a distinct article of this chapter, signifies that great *jar* in which they keep their *corn*, and sometimes fetch their water.

Nebel means, I apprehend, an earthen vessel not very unlike the preceding, in which they keep their *wine*. Voyage-writers, I think, frequently call them jars; but as the Hebrew gives us a different term for those vessels, it must be right to appropriate an English term to this kind of vessels. The translator of the Arabian Nights Entertainments denominates such a vessel a *jug*, and perhaps we cannot find a better. Our version generally renders it a *bottle*, a term which, I doubt, neither answers its *shape*, nor excites a proper idea of the *quantity of wine* that such a vessel contains: in one place, Lam. iv. 2, it is translated *pitcher*; and in another place by the general term *vessel*.

Nod occurs five or six times, and is always translated *bottle* in our version; but certainly differs much from the last-mentioned uten-

fil, which was an earthen vessel, this one of leather; it agrees with it in being of large capacity, used, it seems, for churning, as well as for wine; whereas there are small leather-bottles, called Matarras, according to Plaistead. Bottle then doth not seem to be so agreeable a translation, nor even leather-bottle; and what would be a proper term is difficult to say, as we have no such vessel, I think, in England. Plaistead calls them *skins*, and Maundrell *goat-skins*³; and either of these terms would do very well to translate the passages of Scripture by in common, in which the word Nod occurs; but what shall we say to Ps. lvi. 8? shall we translate it, "Thou tellest my wanderings; put thou my tears in thy *goat-skin*? Would it not sound still worse, in vulgar ears, "Put thou my tears in thy *skin*?" The term marks out God's not suffering his tears to fall unnoticed; and it involves in it the notion of the large quantities his afflictions forced from him; but it is extremely difficult to find one single word which would be applied, with propriety, to all the passages in which the Hebrew word appears.

Chemeth, one would imagine, means a smaller vessel of leather, for the holding liquors, larger however, perhaps, than the modern matarras, since one of them filled

³ P. 29. "He brought us the next day, on his own back, a kid, and a goat's skin of wine, as a present from the convent."

with

with water, was, so far as we know, all the liquid provision Hagar and Ishmael had when they went into the wilderness, Gen. xxi. The other three⁹ passages, in which we meet with the word, seem also to involve in them the notion of a *considerable quantity*, though very much short of a goat-skin full.

Pitcher often appears in our version, but *Tzappachath* is the Hebrew term, I apprehend, that properly denotes what we mean by a *pitcher*, though our translators always render it *cruse*, which, it seems, signifies a *small cup*, or perhaps a *cruet*, but neither of those terms, one would think, accurately expresses the meaning of the word: a *small cup* would not be a proper vessel for the keeping oil in, and a *cruet* is not of capacity to contain water enough for the refreshment of a prophet, faint with journeying in an Eastern desert. As a *pitcher* answers all the uses a *tzappachath* appears to have been put to, so it is the vessel, on the outside of which, when made sufficiently hot, the Arabs bake one species of their bread¹⁰, and *tzappichith* signifies a *wafer*, or thin cake, made with honey, Exod. xvi. 31.

Celub seems to signify a *basket not wrought close*, but like a *cage*, for it apparently signifies a cage or coop, Jer. v. 27; and was very proper for cucumbers and melons, and

⁹ Hof. 7. 5, Hab. 2. 15, and Job 21. 20. ¹⁰ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 192, 193.

such large fruits, which were too big to slip out between the twigs, and accordingly we find the celub was used for summer-fruits, Amos viii. 1, 2.

Dud, mentioned under the preceding Observation, I am inclined to think, signifies on the contrary a *close-wrought basket*. It is very variously translated in our version: *basket*, Jer. xxiv. 2; *kettle*, 1 Sam. ii. 14; *pot*, Job xli. 20; and *caldron*, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. According to Pf. lxxxii. 6. the dud was used by the Israelites in their Ægyptian labours, and though we translate the word there *pots*, it should seem to mean *baskets*; and so Sir J. Chardin in his MS. note on the place supposes them to be baskets, in which, he tells us, *the Eastern people put their mortar, instead of those wooden bods used by masons in our country*. If they use baskets for this purpose, they must be close-wrought, or the mortar would drop through, and this seems to be the circumstance that distinguished it from the celub. No body will find any difficulty in supposing an utensil of this kind might be proper for putting *figs* in, Jer. xxiv. 2; or *human beads*, 2 Kings x. 7. But it may be thought a very strange vessel for meat that was *cooked and hot*: if however *our translation* of Judges vi. 19 be right, it was by no means abhorrent from their manners; and whatever be thought of that translation, Dr. Shaw shows, in a
passage

passage I have elsewhere quoted, *baskets* are now used in such circumstances.

Sal, the word there, however, may mean some *light wooden vessel*, proper for carrying bread, flesh, &c, in. The word signifies the vessel into which they were wont to gather their *grapes*, as appears Jer. vi. 9, but such a vessel, which would hold the liquor draining from the bruised grapes, would be more proper than a basket; and, if prints published in wine-countries are exact, appear to be used now for that purpose. Such a light portable vessel, with a cover to be occasionally put on, must have been more convenient frequently, for carrying food in, than wicker-work, though wrought close: so Thevenot complains that the sand insinuated itself into the maund in the desert in which he travelled, and quite spoiled the baked-meats contained in it¹¹. If it signifies a basket, it seems to mean a small one, of the close-wrought kind.

The word *Tena*, which is also translated *basket*, will be explained in a note under the first Observation of the next chapter. Great *certainty* however must not be expected in such matters; but if the comparing the ancient Jewish names for domestic utensils with those now in use in the East, be not a sure way to determine their meaning, we certainly have a *better chance to guess right*: and it affords an agreeable amusement.

¹¹ Part I. p. 162.

OBSERVATION XL.

The Eastern people *seldom drink at meals*, but *very largely after eating*, and particularly of *water*¹.

After considering what they *eat*, it is natural to turn our thoughts to what they *drink*: and water is that which first presents itself to the mind, of which they drink now large quantities, and did so anciently.

It is the business of the females in those countries to fetch this necessary of life. Dr. Shaw has told us this ancient oriental custom still continues in those hot countries, and that the women, *tying their sucking children behind them*, fetch the water that is wanted in their families, in the evening; at which time, he tells us, they go forth adorned with their trinkets²: but Sir J. Chardin has added some particulars farther in his sixth MS. volume, which I am not willing to suppress.

In the first place, he supposes it is the business of *young women that are single* to fetch the water, and that it is only when there are none such in a family that *married women* perform that office. This agrees with the book of Genesis: Rebecca had a mother at the time Abraham's servant came into Mesopotamia, Gen. xxiv. 53, yet Rebecca fetched the water, not the mother. So the servant supposed they were the *daughters* of the men of the city that would come out to

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 203, 205.

² P. 241.

draw water, and such as were *unmarried*, for among them he hoped to find a wife for Isaac.

Secondly, he tells us they fetch water *in the mornings as well as evenings*. The heat of the sun, in the middle of the day, makes the going to fetch water improper then; but it is no wonder the *cool of the morning* should be made use of for this purpose as well as *that of the evening*, since he represents the Eastern people as very curious as to the water they drink.

I would add, that it appears from both these gentlemen, that there was no impropriety in the servants putting ornaments on Rebecca, when performing this mean office: the women of those countries are wont to *adorn* themselves at such times in the best manner they are able; nor are we to suppose Rebecca went out without *any* ornaments of this sort, but rather, that her brother saw, with surprize, her meaner³ ornaments exchanged for others that were more pompous and valuable.

But though they use great quantities of *water* for drink in the Levant, they do not confine themselves to such a temperate beverage now, and certainly the Jews did not, whose law did not forbid them the indulgence of wine, as that of Mohammed doth. This we shall find presently, but I must first make another observation relating to water.

³ According to Sir J. Chardin, some of the Eastern women that fetch water have ornaments *then* upon them of *very great value*.

OBSERVATION XLI.

They not only drink water very commonly in the East, but it is considered as an *important part* of the provision made for a repast, and is sent as such to shearers and reapers in particular.

I question not but that several persons have been surprized at the words of Nabal, when David sent messengers to him for some support in the wilderness, “ Shall I then
“ take my bread, *and my water*, and my flesh
“ that I have killed for my shearers, and
“ give unto men whom I know not whence
“ they be?” 1 Sam. xxv. 11. Was water to be *prepared* for shearers? Could he think of *sending* water to David with provisions?

Perhaps a passage from Mr. Drummond’s Travels may somewhat diminish the surprize:
“ The men and women were then employed
“ in *reaping*, and this operation they per-
“ form by cutting off the ears, and pulling
“ up the stubble; which method has been
“ always followed in the East; other females
“ were busy in *carrying water* to the reapers, so
“ that none but infants were unemployed¹.

An apocryphal writer represents a prophet as carrying pottage and bread broken in a bowl into the field to reapers²; Mr. Drummond saw people employed in carrying water to such: no wonder then Nabal had provided water to be carried to his shearers.]

¹ P. 216.² Bel and the Dragon, ver. 33.

OBSERVATION XLII.

XXVII.

But to re-assume the consideration of the provision that was made for Nehemiah's table, there was prepared for him *daily* one ox, and six choice sheep, besides fowls, "and once in *ten days* store of *all sorts of wine*."

In the East they have no casks, but keep their wine in *jugs* or *flagons*, by which means it is commonly a little thick. Such was that d'Arvieux was entertained with at a village near Mount Carmel, of which three jugs were opened for his supper and that of their governor, by the Greeks that inhabited it¹; and such is the Eastern wine in common. It was therefore no inconvenience to Nehemiah, to have his wine brought in *once in ten days*; and his provision for that time must have consisted of a considerable number of these vessels, sufficient to load a little caravan of asses, which, according to Nehem. xiii. 15, they used for bringing wine, as well as other things, into Jerusalem².

The wines that are produced in different places differ considerably in their qualities. They might not, possibly, in the time of Nehemiah mind this so much as they did

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 29. [² Niebuhr, in his 16th plate, has, among other things, given an amusing figure of a camel, loaded with earthen vessels of water, fastened very ingeniously, five on a side, by convolutions of cordage, in which manner Nehemiah's wine probably was conveyed to him on asses.]

some ages after ; but the distinction was too sensible not to be perceived in those early days. The wine of Lebanon, and that of Helbon near Damascus, are mentioned with distinction by the prophets Hosea and Ezekiel ; and the king of Persia's cup-bearer may naturally be supposed to have as exquisite a taste for wine as any person of *that age* ; every ten days then he ordered his people to purchase for him all the variety of wines that Judæa would afford, which were proper for his table. It was part of the *state* he assumed as governor of that country.

Red wine, in particular, is more esteemed in the East than white. And we are told, in the travels of Olearius², that it is customary with the Armenian Christians in Persia to put Brazil-wood, or saffron, into their wine, to give it an *higher colour*, when the wine is not *so red* as they like, they making *no account* of white wine. He mentions the same thing also in another place³. These accounts of their putting brazil-wood or saffron into their wines, to give them a *deeper red*, seem to discover an energy in the Hebrew word which is used Prov. xxiii. 31, that I never saw remarked any where. It is of the conjugation called Hithpahel, which, according to grammarians denotes an action that turns upon the agent itself : it is not always, it may be, accurately observed ; but

² P. 801.³ P. 776.

in this case it should seem that it ought to be taken according to the strictness of grammar, and that it intimates the wine's *making itself redder* by something put into it; "Look not on the wine *when it maketh itself red.*" It appears, indeed, from Is. lxiii. 2, that *some* of the wines about Judæa were *naturally* red; but so are those wines in Persia supposed to be in Olearius, only more deeply tinged by art; and this colouring it apparently is to make it more grateful and tempting to the eye.

There are two other places relating to wine, in which our translators have used the term *red*; but the original word differs from that in Proverbs, and I should therefore imagine intended another idea; what that might be may, perhaps, appear in the sequel. The word, it is certain, sometimes signifies what is made thick and turbid; so it expresses the thickening water with mud (Ps. xlv. 3). May it not then signify the thickening wine with *its lees*? It seems plainly to do so in one of the passages[†]: "In the hand of the Lord is a cup, and the wine is *red*, (or turbid :) " it is full of mixture, and he poureth out the same: but the dregs thereof all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them," Ps. lxxv, 8. The *turbidness* of wine makes it very inebriating, and consequently expressive of the disorder affliction brings on the mind:

[†] The other is Isaiah 27, 2.

thus Thevenot, I remember, tells us⁵ the wine of Schiras in Persia is *full of lees*, and *therefore very beady*; to remedy which, they filtrate it through a cloth, and then it is very clear, and free from fumes.

Doth not this *mixture* of the lees with the wine, which the Psalmist speaks of, explain what is meant by *mingling of wine* so often mentioned in the Old Testament? If it does, then the mingling of wine means the *opening jars of old*, and consequently *strong wine*, which opening makes the wine somewhat turbid, by mixing the lees with it; they, it seems, having no way of drawing it off fine from those earthen vessels in which it is kept, which we may learn from d'Arvieux's complaint, relating to the wine near Mount Carmel; and so this mingled wine stands in opposition to new wine, which is, to the eye, an uniform liquor. According to this thought, the *mingling of wine*, mentioned as a part of the preparation Wisdom had made for an entertainment, Prov. ix. 2, will signify the *getting up and opening* some jugs of wine ready for drinking; and the being men of strength to mingle strong drink, If. v. 22, will signify persons able to drink great quantities of old wine, who occasion jar after jar to be *opened*, and thereby *made turbid*.

The learned Vitringa⁶, indeed, explains this mingling wine of mingling it with wa-

⁵ Part 2. p. 126.

⁶ In Com. in If. v. 22.

ter, or with *spices*. But, (not to say that Thevenot affirms⁷, that the people of the Levant *never* mingle water with their wine to drink, but drink by itself what water they think proper for the abating the strength of the wine, since the ancient custom might have been different,) it cannot surely be of this mixture that the Scriptures oftentimes speak, for the mixture of water with the wine is the mixture of *temperance and peace*, not that of contention and woe, Prov. xxiii. 29, 30. Nor is it so natural to understand it of wine mixed with aromatics, or things of that sort; these being rather preparations for those that drink *but little*, and use wine for a *medicine*, than what they prepare for them that *tarry long* at the wine.

Something however of this latter kind was anciently in use, as appears from Cant. viii. 2: "I would cause thee to drink
" of *spiced wine* of the *juice of my pomegrate*,
" *nate*," of wine mixed with the juice of pomegranates. Russell observes, that there are three sorts of pomegranates at Aleppo, the sour, the sweet, and another between both, in one place; and in another, that they are wont to give a grateful acidity to their fauces, by pomegranate or lemon-juice: as then *we* frequently make use of lemon-juice along with wine, to make a cooling refreshing liquor in hot weather, as well as in our fauces; so it should seem the spouse

⁷ Part 2. p. 96.

proposed to prepare a liquid of much the same kind, with the juice of pomegranates³.

Liquors of this kind, leaving out the wine, which the Mohammedan religion forbids, are very common in the East at this day. So Dr. Pococke tells us, vol. ii. p. 125, the people of Damascus have their *Rinfrescoes*, which are made either of *liquorice*, *lemons*, or dried *grapes*; and two or three pages after, speaking of a plain toward Jordan, he informs us, that *liquorice* grows there as fern doth with us, that they carry the wood for fuel to Damascus, and the *root serves to make Rinfrescoes*: and *Sherbet*, which, according to Dr. Ruffell, is some *syrup*, chiefly *that of lemons*, mixed with water, is in great use, and

[³ It is, I think, highly probable, that in the times of the most remote antiquity, *pomegranate-juice* was used, in those countries, where *lemon-juice* is now used, with their meat, and in their drinks, and that it was not till afterwards, that lemons came among them: I know not how else to account for the mention of *pomegranates* in the describing the fruitfulness of the Holy-Land, Deut. 8. 7, 8, Num. 20. 5. They would not now, I think, occur in such descriptions: the juice of lemons and oranges have, at present, almost *superseded* the use of that of pomegranates. Sir John Chardin, in his MS, supposes that this pomegranate-wine means wine made of that fruit; which he informs us is made use of in considerable quantities, in several places of the East, and particularly in Persia: his words are, On fait, en diverses parts de l'Orient, du vin de grenade, nomme roubnar, qu'on transporte par tout. Il y en a sur tout en Perse.

My reader must determine for himself, whether *pomegranate-wine*, or *wine commonly so called* mixed with *pomegranate-juice*, was most probably meant here. The making

and mentioned by a vast number of authors^o.

These passages, and particularly what Pococke says of the making Rinfrescoes with roots of liquorice, sufficiently explain the *Sorbitiunculæ delicatæ*, and the *contrita Olera*, of St. Jerome, in that passage of his cited under the second Observation.

Upon occasion of that passage, I would also take the liberty of proposing as a query, whether the drinking wine in *bowls*, complained of by the Prophet, Amos vi. 6, is to be understood of the *quantity* drunk, or of the *magnificence* of the vessel made use of. The other particulars seem rather to refer to the *magnificence* of their repasts than the *quantity* consumed; and St. Jerome speaks of a *shell*, the *porcelain* of those ancient times, as a *piece of luxury in drinking* un-

making the first of these was a fact unknown to me, till I saw this manuscript, I confess, though it seems it is made in such large quantities as to be transported.] [^o Hasselquist mentions some of these sorts of sherbet, and adds an account of some others, telling us that the *sweet-scented violet is one of the plants most esteemed by the Egyptians and Turks, not only for its scent and colour, but especially for its great use in sherbet, which they make of violet sugar, dissolved in water, especially when they intend to entertain their guests in an elegant manner. He then tells us of capillaire mixed with water; and that the grandees sometimes add ambergris, which is their highest pitch of luxury, and indulgence of their appetites, p. 254. Sir J. Chardin, in a MS. note on a passage of the Apocrypha, similar to Neh. 8. 10, seems to suppose that drinking the sweet refers to the great quantities of sherbet used in the East; but if they are of as ancient date as the days of Nehemiah, this passage will hardly prove the fact.]*

doubtedly

doubtedly, opposing it to a cup: may not the Prophet's complaint be of the like kind with that of this father of the Christian church then, and relate rather to the *magnificence* of the *drinking-vessel* than to the quantity they drank? Erasmus, in his notes on that place of St. Jerome, tells us, that Virgil speaks of the like piece of grandeur:

Ut Conchâ bibat, & Sarrano indormiat Ostro.

Though the common reading is *Gemmâ*, (a gem,) instead of *Conchâ*, (a shell.) I have seen very *beautiful and highly-valued* vessels made of shells; and the Red-sea, which is celebrated for producing some of the finest sea-shells in the world¹⁰, is near Judæa, and gave an opportunity to the ancient Jews of introducing vessels of this kind among their other precious utensils. Nor are they *now* only esteemed by our European Virtuosi; the people of the East value them: so shells were sent, along with fruit, for a present to Dr. Pococke, when at Tor near Mount Sinai¹¹.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

[*Horns* also were made use of among the Jews for keeping some liquids, if not for drinking-vessels.

That they were wont sometimes to keep oil in an horn, appears from 1 Sam. xvi. 1,

¹⁰ See Shaw, p. 448.

¹¹ Vol. I. p. 141.

13, 1 Kings i. 39; it may however be amusing to hear that they are made use of still in some countries, which are less acquainted with the arts of life than many other places, as we are assured by Sir John Chardin's MS they are: *it is the custom, that tells us, of Iberia, Colchis, and the adjacent country, where the arts are little practised, to keep liquors in horns, and to drink out of them.*

They were doubtless originally the hollow horns of animals that were made use of; art might be afterwards employed to hollow them more perfectly; and they might in the days of David be shaped like horns, but be made of silver and gold, especially *vessels kept in the sanctuary*. Such an one, I apprehend, is that horn kept in the *cathedral of York*, presented to it by one of our Northern Princes, as it is supposed, about the beginning of the eleventh century, of which a copper-plate was not long since published by the Antiquarian Society¹.

¹ Sir J. Chardin mentions these horns in his printed Travels; some were horns of the rhinoceros, some of deer, the common sort those of oxen and sheep. He adds, that this custom of using them for drinking-cups, and embellishing them, has been all along among the Eastern people, p. 228. These horns were embellished as the richer sort of cups, (which was with precious stones,) and of different proportions. The ordinary ones about eight inches high, and two broad at the top, very black, and polished. He saw these at Teflis. That at York is, I think, twenty-seven inches high, and about five inches broad at the top, according to the plate.

That

That horn of Ulphus, kept at York, has a *chain* fastened to it in two places, by which it might be *hung up*. It is reasonable to believe the Eastern horns may have the same convenience, though Sir J. Chardin doth not mention it. So there is no account of such a chain, in the description that is given us in the Philosophical Transactions Abridged, vol. 5. pt 2. p. 131, 132, as fixed to the horn of gold, or to the Oldenburg horn of silver, in the royal repository at Copenhagen; yet, as that of Ulphus is so accommodated, there is reason to think those other *northern* horns have their chains too. May not this account for the Prophet's supposing drinking-vessels were *hung up*, *Is. xxii. 24?*

There is so much conformity between the ancient horns of the North and those now used in the East, both having them of *various metals*, some of them being bullocks horns, tipped with gold about the edges, others of ivory, unicorns horns, &c, and all *highly ornamented*; and these present Eastern horns being apparently derived from ancient usage: that the thought of *Isaiah's* referring to *drinking-horns* hung up seems perfectly natural.

They are also of different proportions, as *Isaiah* supposes they were anciently. A common horn is, according to Sir John Chardin, eight inches high, and two inches broad at the top: such an horn would hold about a quarter of a pint, I apprehend, since I have
found

found a conical glass of that width at top, and half that height, held half that quantity, upon measuring the liquid it contained. But the horn of a very large foreign ox, measured by Sir Hans Sloane, Philosophical Transactions Abridged, vol. vii. p. 442, held in its hollow part exactly five quarts. Such an horn, filled with *civet*, was to have been presented to the Great Mogul, p. 444. The Danish drinking-horn of gold that I was mentioning holds about two quarts. Such differences there might be in the time of Isaiah, some of these suspended drinking-vessels holding no more than the contents of a *cup*, others as much as a *nebel*, or whole *jug* of wine².

The kindred of Eliakim might be compared very well to such vessels, according to the Eastern taste, since another Prophet uses something of a like comparison, Lam. iv. 2.

OBSERVATION XLIV.

The magnificence of Solomon, particularly with respect to his *drinking-vessels*, has not been exceeded by modern Eastern Princes.

They were all of *gold*, and it should seem of the purest gold, 1 Kings x. 21. The *gold plate* of the Kings of Persia has been extremely *celebrated*, and is mentioned in Sir J. Chardin's MS. note on this passage of the Sacred Historian: he observes in that

² See Observ. 39.

note, that the *plate of the King of Persia is of gold, and that very fine, exceeding the standard of ducats, and equal to those of Venice, which are of the purest gold.*

These vessels of gold, we are told in Olearius¹, were made by the order of *Schach Abas*, esteemed the *most glorious* of the Princes of the Sofi royal family, who died in 1629. It seems that he caused seven thousand two hundred marks of gold to be melted upon this occasion; that his successors made use of it whenever they feasted strangers; and that it consisted chiefly of dishes, pots, flagons, and *other vessels for drinking.*

A French mark is eight of their ounces, and their ounces are but four grains lighter than an English ounce troy². Abas then melted on this occasion near thirty-six thousand English troy ounces of the purest gold, or almost forty-one three-fourths Jewish talents³. Astonishing magnificence of Persia! Nor have we reason to think that of Solomon was inferior. We may believe, sure, his royal drinking-vessels were of equal weight, when the two hundred targets of gold which Solomon made, 1 Kings x. 16, weighed but little less than the drinking-vessels of Schach Abas⁴. Sir J. Chardin's

¹ P. 946, 947. ² Philosophical Transactions Abridged, vol. 7. part 4. p. 46. ³ For according to Bishop Cumberland, a talent weighed 3000 shekels, and a shekel weighed 219 grains; now 7200 marks = 27.417.600 grains = 125.104 shekels = 41 talents and 2194 shekels.
⁴ 120.000 shekels.

way of comparing the glory of Solomon, with that of a most illustrious monarch of Persia of late ages, is perhaps one of the most efficacious methods of impressing the mind with an apprehension of the magnificence of this ancient Israelitish King, and, at the same time, appears to be perfectly just.

OBSERVATION XLV.

Wine is often the occasion of exciting great emotions of an *untoward* kind of tenderness towards the dead, and of devotion, which last might be the cause of Belshazzar's sending for the sacred vessels, taken from the temple at Jerusalem, finding, as the wine operated, a most melting devotion rising towards the idols that he imagined had given the Babylonians power to subdue Jerusalem, and finish the conquest of the Jewish nation.

So have I known a lady, when mellow with strong liquors, burst into a flood of tears, upon mentioning a deceased mother; and Sir J. Chardin has given a very droll, but painful description of the drunken-bouts of some of the Eastern Christians, as an illustration of the nature of the devotion of Belshazzar towards his idols, when he began to grow drunk. *It is the custom of the greatest part of the Eastern Christians, and above all of the Iberians, and the people of Colchis, when they are drunk, to*

lift up their eyes to heaven, beat themselves on the breast, to sigh and sob, remorse for their sins awakening, and their fear of future punishment operating, afresh.]

XXVIII

OBSERVATION XLVI.

If I be right in my conjecture concerning *mingled wine*, old wine must have been most esteemed in the East, as well as the West; and that it was so, whether my conjecture be right or not, is beyond contradiction apparent from those words of our Lord, Luke v. 39, “No man also having drunk *old wine*, straightway desireth *new*: for he saith, *The old is better.*” But how then came the prophet Joel to threaten the Israelitish *drinkers of wine*, ch. i. 5, with the cutting off the *new wine* from their mouth?

It is the fault of the translation, undoubtedly, that occasions the query. It should be *sweet wine*. Sweet as the *new-trodden* juice of grapes, if you will, but *old*. Wines of this sort, as appears from the ancient *Eastern* translators of the Septuagint, were chiefly esteemed formerly, for that which our version renders “*royal wine* in abundance, according to the state of the king,” (Esth. i. 7,) they translate “*much and sweet wine*, such as the *king himself* drank¹.”

A re-

¹ Οίνος πολὺς καὶ ἡδύς, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίνεν. [Perhaps it was with a view to this, that the soldiers offered our Lord

A remark that Dr. Russell makes, on the white wines of Aleppo, may help to explain this. They are palatable, but *thin and poor*, and *seldom keep sound above a year*². Some of the Eastern wines then are poor, and will not keep, while those that were capable of being kept till they were old, and which those that loved drinking desired, were those which were *sweet*, and consequently proper subjects for the threatening of the Prophet³.

Agreeably to this, the same Prophet describes⁴ a state of *great prosperity* by the mountains dropping down *sweet wine*: that is, that the mountains of Judæa should not produce wine like the thin and poor wines of Aleppo, but that which was rich, and capable of being long kept, and by that means of acquiring the greatest agreeableness. The same word is very properly translated *sweet wine* in Amos ix. 13, but our com-

Lord *vinegar*, (wine that was become very sour,) in opposition to that *sweet* wine princes were wont to drink: for St. Luke tells us they did this in mockery, ch. 23. 36, “And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar.” Medicated wine, to deaden their sense of pain, was wont, we are told, to be given to Jewish criminals, when about to be put to death, (see Lightfoot on Mat. 27. 34;) but they gave our Lord vinegar, and that in mockery—in mockery (as they did other things) of his *claim to royalty*: but the force of this does not appear, if we do not recollect the quality of the wines drunk anciently by princes, which, it seems, were of the *sweet* kind.]² P. 19. ³ Accordingly the MS. C. describes the Eastern wine as not so bad for the head as those of Europe, and particularly the green Rhenish wines, and the heavy wines of Orleans. ⁴ Ch. 3. 18.

mentators have passed over this circumstance very lightly.

But what completes and finishes the illustration of this passage of the first of Joel, is a curious and amusing observation of Dr. Shaw's concerning the wine of Algiers, though the Doctor has not applied it to that purpose. "The wine of *Algiers*, before the locusts destroyed the vineyards, in the years 1723 and 1724, was not inferior to the best *Hermitage*, either in briskness of taste or flavour. But since that time it is much degenerated; having not hitherto (1732) recovered its usual qualities⁵." It is a *desolation of their vineyards by locusts* that Joel threatens, which it seems injures their produce for many years, as to briskness and flavour; and consequently nothing was more natural than to call the drunkards of Israel to mourn on that account.

The same word occurs Is. xlix. 26. Vitringa, in his comment on that place, supposes it signifies *Must* there, (that is, wine *just* pressed out from the grapes;) but Mons. Lemery, a celebrated French chymist, tells us, that *must* will not inebriate, which the Prophet is there speaking of, but produces a very different effect. Our translators then have done much better in translating it *sweet wine*, such as was used in royal palaces for its gratefulness, was capable of being kept

⁵ P. 146.

to a great age, and consequently with which people were apt to get drunk.

A few generations ago, sweet wines were those that were most esteemed in England itself.

Sir Thomas Brown explains ⁶ the new-wine mentioned Acts ii. 13, after the same manner, supposing it signifies not new-wine properly speaking, which was not to be found at Pentecost, but some generous, strong, and sweet wine, wherein more especially lay the power of inebriation; I do not propose this therefore as a new thought, but perhaps the additional illustrations, which are not to be found in Sir Thomas, may be agreeable to the reader.

OBSERVATION XLVII.

[The time of *drinking wine*, in the East, is at the *beginning*, not at the *close* of the entertainment, as it is with us.

Sir John Chardin has corrected an error of a French commentator, as to this point, in his MS. Note on Esther v. 6. It seems the commentator had supposed, *the banquet of wine meant the dessert, because this is our custom in the West; but he observes that the Eastern people, on the contrary, drink and discourse before eating, and that after the rest is served up, the feast is quickly over, they eating*

⁶ Miscell. Tracts, p. 8, at the close of his works in folio.

very fast, and every one presently withdrawing. They conduct matters thus at the royal table, and at those of their great men.

Dr. Castell, in his Lexicon, seems to have been guilty of the same fault, by a quotation annexed to that note.

Chardin's account agrees with that of *Olearius*, who tells us, that when the ambassadors he attended were at the *Persian* court, at a solemn entertainment, the floor of the hall was covered with a cotton cloth, which was covered with all sorts of fruits and sweetmeats, in basons of gold. That with them was served up excellent *Schiras* wine. That after an hour's time, the sweetmeats were removed, to make way for the more substantial part of the entertainment, such as rice, boiled and roasted mutton, fowl, game, &c. That after having been at table an hour and an half, warm water was brought, in an ewer of gold, for washing; and grace being said, they began to retire without speaking a word, according to the custom of the country, as also did the ambassadors soon after¹.

This is *Olearius's* account, in short: by which it appears that wine was brought first; that the time of that part of the entertainment was double to the other; and that immediately after eating, they withdrew. This was the practice of the *modern* court of *Persia*, and probably might be so in the days of *Ahasuerus*. Unluckily, *Diodati* and *Dr.*

¹ P. 709—712.

Castell did not attend to this circumstance, in speaking of the banquet of wine prepared by queen Esther.

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

That account that the MS. C. gives us, of the solemnity with which they begin their feasts in Mingrelia and Georgia, is extremely amusing to the imagination; but I very much question whether the cup of salvation, of which the Psalmist speaks¹, was made use of, as he supposes, just in the same manner.

It is the custom, it seems, in Mingrelia and Georgia, and some other Eastern countries, for people, before they begin a feast, to go out abroad, and with eyes turned to heaven, to pour out a cup of wine on the ground. From the Ethiopic version he imagines the like custom obtains in Ethiopia.

This is amusing to the imagination, and it may be considered as a picture of what the idolatrous Israelites did, when they poured out drink-offerings to the queen of heaven, Jer. xlv. 17, &c; what Jacob did more purely in the patriarchal times, when he poured out a drink-offering on the pillar he set up, Gen. xxxv. 14: but it does not follow, that any thing of this sort was done in their *common* feasts; or was *ever* done by David². It is certain the modern Jews, when

¹ Pf. 116. 13. ² The liquid which David is said to have poured out before the Lord, 2 Sam. 23, 16, and 1 Chron. 11. 18, was *water*, not *wine*.

they annually celebrate the deliverance of their forefathers in Ægypt, take a cup of falvation, and *call upon the Name of the Lord*, (finging a portion of the book of Pfalms,) but they drink the wine, and do not pour it upon the ground; nor do they practife this effufion of wine in their more common feasts³.

OBSERVATION XLIX.

Wine-presses, it fhould seem from feveral Scriptures, were not *moveable* things; and, according to a parable of our Lord, were some how made by *digging*, Mat. xxi. 33.

Sir J. Chardin found the wine-presses in Persia were formed after the same manner, being formed, he tells us his MS, *by making hollow places in the ground, lined with mason's work*. They dig then their wine-presses there.

OBSERVATION L.

They frequently pour wine *from vessel to vessel* in the East: for when they begin one, they are obliged immediately to empty it into smaller vessels, or into bottles, or it would grow four.

This is an observation of the same writer, who remarks, that the Prophet alludes to it, Jer. xlvi. 11, in the case of Moab. According to which it should seem to be hinted,

³ Buxtorfii Syn. Jud. cap. 12.

that Moab had continued in the full possession of the country of their ancestors, without such *diminutions* and *transmigrations* as Israel had experienced.]

OBSERVATION LI.

XXIX.

Dr. Pococke, in the passage quoted under a preceding Observation, relating to the Rinfrescoes of *Damascus*, tells us, that the people of *that place* put *snow* into their wine and Rinfrescoes. This, he supposes, is not so wholesome a way as that of the Europeans, who only cool their liquors with it; but its antiquity, not its wholesomeness, is the point we are to consider.

Gejerus doubts ¹ whether the custom was so ancient as the days of Solomon; but surely Prov. xxv. 13. puts the matter out of question: the royal preacher could not speak of a fall of snow in the time of harvest, that must have been incommoding, instead of pleasurable, which it is supposed to be; he must be understood then to mean liquids cooled some how by snow.

[The *snow* of *Lebanon*, it seems, was celebrated for this use of it, in the time of Josephus de Vitriaco, for observing ² that snow
is

¹ Vide Poli Syn. in Prov. 25. 13. ² Gestæ Dei, p. 1098. *Nives* autem nisi circa montes altitudine nimia præminentes, cujusmodi est Libanus, in terra rarissime reperiuntur. In toto autem æstivo tempore, & maximè in diebus canicularibus ferventissimis, & in mense Augusti, nix frigidissima à monte Libano per duas
vel

is rarely found in the Holy-Land, excepting on very high mountains, such as Libanus, he goes on, and says, that *all summer, and especially in the sultry Dog-days, and the month of August*, snow of an extreme cold nature is carried from Mount Libanus, two or three days journey, that being mixed with wine, it may make it cold as ice. This snow is kept from melting by the heat of the sun, or warmth of the air, he tells us, by its being covered up with straw.

The snow of this mountain, it should seem, was in high estimation in the time of the Prophet Jeremiah, for the same purpose, Jer. xviii. 14. But this consideration is not sufficient *perfectly* to explain that obscure verse.]

XXX.

OBSERVATION LII.

However, though the gratefulness of liquors cooled by snow is, I apprehend, referred to in Prov. xxv. 13, yet I very much question whether the supposition of those commentators is just, who imagine those liquors were drank by the reapers. All that Solomon teaches us is, that the coolness given by snow to liquids was extremely grateful in the time of harvest, in the summer that is; but as to the reapers themselves, vinegar, mentioned in the book of Ruth as

vel plures dietas defertur, ut vino commixta, tanquam glaciem ipsum frigidum reddat. Conservantur autem prædictæ nives sub palea, ne fervore solis, seu calore aeris, dissolvantur.

part of the provision for them, seems to be a much more suitable thing for persons heated with such strong exercise, than liquors cooled by *snow*.

Commentators have frequently remarked the refreshing quality of vinegar. I shall not repeat their observations, but rather would ask, why the Psalmist prophetically complains of the giving him *vinegar* to drink, in that *deadly thirst*, which in another Psalm he describes by the tongue's cleaving to the jaws, if it be so refreshing? Its refreshing quality cannot be doubted; but may it not be replied, that, besides the gall which he mentions, and which ought not to be forgotten, vinegar itself, refreshing as it is, was only made use of by the meanest people? The *juice of lemons* is what those of higher life now use, and as the juice of pomegranates is used at Aleppo in their saucers, according to Ruffell, as well as that of lemons, to give them a grateful acidity, so if *lemons* were not anciently known, the juice of *pomegranates* might of old be used, by persons of distinction, when they wanted an acid in *common*, as we know it is mentioned in one *particular case in a royal song*¹. So Pitts telleth us, in the beginning of his account of his sorrows, that the food that he, and the rest had, when first taken by the Algerines, was generally only five or six spoonfuls of *vinegar*, half a spoonful of oil,

¹ Cant. 8. 2.

a few olives, with a small quantity of black-biscuit, and a pint of water a day²; on the other hand, Ruffell relateth, that when they would treat a person at this day with distinguished honour in the East, they present him with *sberbet*, that is, water mingled with syrup of lemons. When a *royal* personage has vinegar given him in his thirst, the *refreshment of a slave*, of a *wretched prisoner*, instead of that of a *prince*, he is greatly dishonoured, and may well complain of it as a bitter insult, or represent such insults by this image.

XXXI.

OBSERVATION LIII.

But from the use of their *juice* let us go on to consider that of the *lemons themselves*, or their kindred fruit, *citrons* and oranges.

Maillet every where expresses a strong prejudice in favour of Ægypt: its air, its water, and all its productions, are incomparable. He acknowledges, however, its *apples* and pears are very bad, and that in this respect Ægypt is as little favoured as almost any place in the world; that some, and those *very indifferent*, that are carried thither from Rhodes and Damascus, are sold *extremely dear*¹. As the *best apples* of Ægypt, which are however very indifferent, are brought thither by sea from Rhodes, and by land from Damascus, we may believe that Judæa, an intermediate country between Ægypt and

² P. 6.¹ Lett. 9. p. 15, 16.

Damascus, has none that are of any value. This is abundantly confirmed by d'Arvieux, who observed that the fruits that were most commonly eaten by the Arabs of Mount Carmel, were figs, grapes, dates, *apples and pears, which they have from Damascus*, apricots, both fresh and dried, melons, pasteques or water-melons, which they make use of in summer, instead of water, to quench their thirst²: the Arabs then of Judæa can find no apples *there* worth eating, but have them brought from Damascus, as the people of Ægypt have.

Can it be imagined then that the *apple-trees* of which the Prophet Joel speaks, ch. i. 12, and which he mentions among the things that gave joy to the inhabitants of Judæa, were apple-trees properly speaking? Our translators must surely have been mistaken here, since *the apples the Arabs of Judæa eat at this day* are of foreign growth, and at the same time but very indifferent.

Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on the Canticles³, supposes that the word translated *apples* is to be understood of the fruit to which we give that name, and also of oranges, citrons, peaches, and all fruit that breathe a fragrant odour: but the justness of this may be questioned. The Roman authors, it is true, call pomegranates, quinces, citrons, peaches, apricots, all by the common name of apples, only adding an epithet to dis-

² Voy. dans la Pal. p. 201.

³ On Cant. 7. 8.

tinguish

tinguish them from the species of fruit we call by that name, and from one another; but it doth not appear that the *Hebrew* writers do so too. The pomegranate certainly has its peculiar name; and the book of Canticles seems to mean a particular species of trees by this term, since it prefers them to *all* the trees of the wood. This author then does not seem to be in the right, when he gives such a vague sense to the word.

What sort of tree and of fruit then are we to understand by the word, since, probably, one particular species is designed by it, and it cannot be supposed to be the proper apple-tree? There are five places besides this in Joel in which the word occurs, and from them we learn that it was thought the *noblest* of the trees of the wood, and that its fruit was very *sweet or pleasant*, Cant. ii. 3; of the *colour of gold*, Prov. xxv. 11; extremely *fragrant*, Cant. vii. 8; and proper for those to *smell to* that were ready to faint, Cant. ii. 5. The fifth passage, Cant. viii. 5, contains nothing particular, I think; but the description the other four give, perfectly answers the citron-tree and its fruit.

It may be thought, possibly, that the *orange* and the *lemon-trees*, which now grow in Judæa in considerable numbers⁴, as well as

⁴ Thevenot observed the gardens at Naplouse, part 1. p. 215, full of orange as well as citron-trees; and Egmont and Heyman saw lemon-trees at Hattin and Saphet in Galilee. Vol. 2. p. 30, 48. See also Dr. Pococke's Travels, vol. 2. p. 67.

the citron, equally answer the description. They do : but it is to be remembered, that it is very much doubted by eminent naturalists, Ray in particular⁵, whether they were known to the ancients, whereas it is admitted that they were acquainted with the citron. The story that Josephus tells us⁶, of the pelting King Alexander Jannæus by the Jews *with their citrons* at one of their feasts, plainly proves that they were acquainted with it some generations before the birth of our Lord, and it is supposed to have been of much longer standing in that country.

Citron-trees are very noble, being large, their leaves very beautiful, ever continuing upon the tree, of an exquisite smell, and affording a most delightful shade : it might well therefore be said, “As the citron-tree
“ among the trees of the wood, so is my be-
“ loved among the sons.” Its fruit is also of the colour of gold, according to Prov. xxv. 11. Maundrell seems to have had the same sort of sensibility : for, describing the palace of the Emir Faccardine, at Beroot, on the coast of Syria, he prefers the orange-garden to every thing else that he met with there, though it was only a large quadrangular plat of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, but the walks were so *shaded*

⁵ Dr. Shaw appears to be of the same opinion, p. 341.

⁶ Antiq. Jud. l. 13. c. 13.

with orange-trees of a large spreading size, and so *gilded* with fruit, that he thought nothing could be more perfect in its kind, or, if it had been duly cultivated, could have been more delightful. When we recollect that the difference between citron-trees and orange is not very discernible⁷, excepting by the fruit, which are both however of the colour of gold, this passage of Maundrell may serve as a comment on that passage of this ancient royal song, which I mentioned in the beginning of the paragraph.

The fragrancy of the fruit is admirable : with great agreeableness then might the nose, or breath of the spouse, be compared to citrons ; whereas the energy of the comparison is lost when understood of *apples*, which are at best not near so fragrant, and in the East are very indifferent.

Citrons also are well known to be extremely grateful to the *taste*, and must be infinitely more proper to be *smelled to* by those that are ready to *faint*, their peel being, according to the writers on the *Materia Medica*, exhilarating to the heart, as their juice cordial and refreshing. “ Stay me with “ flagons,” with wine that is, according to the common explanation, which was given to those that were faint, 2 Sam. xvi. 2 ; “ comfort me with *apples*,” with citrons,

[⁷ A brown redness in the young leaves is, I think, the *only* vulgar distinction, by which an observer is led to pronounce it a citron-tree, where there is no fruit.]

which

which are so refreshing and exhilarating. Egmont and Heyman tell us of an Arabian, who was in a great measure brought to himself, when overcome with wine, by the help of *citrons* and coffee^{*}; how far this may be capable of illustrating the ancient practice, of relieving those that were near fainting, by the use of citrons, I leave to medical gentlemen to determine.

I do not however by all this pretend that I am here giving the world a *new* thought, when I suppose the *citron* is to be understood in these passages instead of the *apple-tree*. It has given me pleasure to find the Chaldee paraphrast, on Cant. ii. 3, understood this word in the same way; but the *distinctness* with which I have proposed these matters, and the *illustrations* I have given of the particulars, may perhaps lay some little claim to that novelty which the reader will expect in these Observations.

I will only farther add, that to the manner of serving up these citrons *in his court* Solomon seemeth to refer, when he says, *A word fitly spoken is like this fruit served up in vessels of silver, curiously wrought*: whether, as Maimonides supposes, wrought with open-work like baskets, or curiously chased, it nothing concerns us to determine. But it may not be improper to observe that this magnificence was not, we have reason to

^{*} Vol. 2. p. 36.

suppose, very common at that time, since the fruit that was presented to d'Arvieux, by the Grand Emir of the Arabs, was brought in nothing better than a *painted vessel of wood*⁹: to an antique apparatus of vessels for fruit, perhaps of this painted wood-kind, Solomon opposes the magnificence of his court.

[Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on this passage of Solomon, understands the words as referring to a vessel adorned in a different manner from what I mentioned in the last paragraph. I ought not to deprive my reader of an opportunity of comparing his sentiments with what I have been proposing, and therefore I shall set down his supposition here. *They damaskeen gold in Persia, and give it the colour of steel. They do the same to silver. So that without engraving, it appears in figures, is more catching to the eye, and is extremely agreeable*¹⁰. Every thing curious in that age made its way, we may believe, into the court of King Solomon; but it may be questioned whether this art was then known, and if it were, whether so generally as to be alluded to in a writing designed for public instruction.

⁹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. II. ¹⁰ On damasquine l'or en Perse, & on luy donne une couleur d'acier; & a l'argent aussi; en sorte que sans estre grave il est figuré, ce qui eclate, & parait, d' avantage, et est fort agreeable.

OBSERVATION LIV.

Sir J. Chardin supposes¹, as well as Dr. Shaw², that *pistachio-nuts* constituted one part of Jacob's present to Joseph.

Adding, *that the pistachios of Syria are the best in the world.* A circumstance I do not remember to have met with elsewhere; and as it serves to confirm these expositions of part of a passage, which, as Sir John observes, has very much embarrassed commentators, I thought it an observation worth preserving.]

OBSERVATION LV.

XXXII.

The marks of distinction of that fruit which Ziba presented unto David, in his flight from Absalom, with bread, raisins, and wine, are not so many as those relating to the citron perhaps; they however deserve consideration.

Ziba met David, according to the sacred historian, (2 Sam. xvi. 1,) with a couple of asses, and upon them two hundred loaves of bread, an hundred bunches of raisins, an hundred of *summer-fruits*, and a bottle of wine. These summer-fruits the Septuagint supposes were *dates* (φοίνικες); but the more common opinion is that they were *figs*¹,

¹ In a MS. note on Gen. 43. 11.

² P. 145, note.

³ See Dr. Shaw, p. 144. notes.

which it seems was that also of the Chaldee paraphrast. Grotius however supposes ² the original word signifies *the fruit of trees in general*.

I cannot adopt any of these opinions. If the notes of distinction are not numerous enough, or sufficiently clear, to determine with *precision* what the fruit was, I believe they are sufficient to satisfy us that these authors were mistaken. We may gather three things relating to them: that they were of *some considerable size*, since their quantity was estimated by *tale*; that they came before the *bean-season* was ended, for *after* this we find that the inhabitants of the country beyond Jordan sent to David, along with other provisions, quantities of beans, (2 Sam. xviii. 28,) they being things, according to Dr. Shaw, that, after they are boiled and stewed with oil and garlick, constitute the *principal food*, in the spring, of persons of *all distinctions* ³; and they were thought by Ziba a suitable refreshment to those that were travelling in a *wilderness*, where it was to be supposed they would be *thirsty* as well as hungry ⁴.

Nothing then could be more *unhappy*, or more strongly mark out the *inattention* of the translators of the Septuagint, (for it cannot be imagined they were ignorant of these mat-

² Vide Grot. in Jer. 40. 10. ³ P. 140. ⁴ Compare 2 Sam. 17. 29, with 2 Sam. 16. 2.

ters,) than the rendering this word (in this place) *dates*, which are neither *produced in summer*, nor suited to allay the *heat of that season*: Dr. Pococke observing that they are not ripe till November; and that they are esteemed of an *hot nature*, Providence seeming to have designed it, as it is a warm food, to comfort the stomach, he thinks, *during the cold season*, in a country where it has not given wine⁵, for he is there speaking concerning Ægypt.

They could not be figs, I think: for as Dr. Shaw observes in the *general*, that the spring is the time for *beans*, and Dr. Ruffell *more particularly*, that *April* and *May* are the months for this sort of pulse at Aleppo, after which they disappear; so the first of these authors informs us that the *Boccore*, or *early fig*, is not produced till *June*, and the fig properly so called, which they preserve and make up into cakes, rarely before August⁶. He doth indeed elsewhere observe, that now and then a *few figs* are ripe *six weeks or more* before the full season⁷, and consequently in the beginning of May, in the bean-season; but then, as an hundred of these would have been but a small quantity (for they are not things of a large size), so they would, doubtless, in such a case have been presented as *rarities* to the king, for his

⁵ Trav. into the East, vol. I. p. 206.

⁶ P. 144.

⁷ P. 342.

own eating⁸, whereas the historian *expressly* tells us, that Ziba told David, the *summer-fruits*, as well as the bread, were for the young men, his *servants* that is, to eat: accordingly Bishop Patrick supposes, in his Commentary, that if any thing was particularly designed for David's *own support*, it was the raisins. To this may be added, that Josephus, who mentions not the particulars of Ziba's present, speaks elsewhere of summer-fruits as growing in places that are well-watered⁹; which is not the case of the fig-tree, it should seem, according to Columella's representation¹⁰.

Nor could by these summer-fruits be meant, as Grotius supposes, fruit produced by *trees* in general; for most of these fruits are *autumnal*, while those that were meant were *contemporary with beans*. Accordingly they are expressly distinguished from grapes and olives, Jer. xl. 10, 12, which are two of the principal productions of the trees of that country; nor could they be pomegranates, which are a third, and often spoken of in the descriptions that the Scriptures give us of the fertility of the Holy-Land¹¹, for pomegranates are not ripe till August¹². There are some trees that produce their fruit indeed in the bean-season, the *almond* in the

⁸ These are those figs *before summer*, I imagine, that Isaiah speaks of, ch. 28. 4.

⁹ Antiq. Jud. lib. 8. chap. 6.

¹⁰ Dr. Shaw, p. 27.

¹¹ Num. 13. 23. chap. 20. 5.

Deut. 8. 8. ¹² Shaw, p. 145.

beginning of April, and the *apricot* in May, of which last the fruit is in high repute at this time in the Holy-Land¹³, and those of Damascus are preserved in different ways, Dr. Pococke tells us, and in particular are exported in large quantities made into thin dried cakes, which, when eaten with bread, are a very *cooling and agreeable food in summer*¹⁴; but then it is questioned whether the apricot was known in the time of Ziba in Judæa¹⁵, and almonds would not have been brought in so small a quantity as an hundred.

When then I find that *water-melons* grow spontaneously in these hot countries¹⁶, are made use of by the Arabs of the Holy-Land in *summer* instead of water, to quench their *thirst*¹⁷, and are purchased as of the *greatest use* to travellers in *thirsty* deserts¹⁸; and that *cucumbers* are very much used still in that country to mitigate the heat¹⁹: I am very much inclined to believe these summer-fruits were not the produce of *trees*, but of *this class of herbs*, which creep along the ground, and produce fruits full of a cooling moisture, and very large in proportion to the size of the plant. They could scarcely however be *water-melons*, I imagine, because they do not begin

¹³ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 201. ¹⁴ Trav. into the East, vol. 2. p. 126. ¹⁵ See Dr. Shaw, p. 341.

¹⁶ See Dr. James's Dispens. ¹⁷ La Roque, Voy. dans la Pal. p. 201. ¹⁸ Egmont and Heyman's Trav.

vol. 2. p. 144. ¹⁹ See Pococke's Trav. vol. 2. p. 75.

to gather *them* before June or July²⁰; but *cucumbers*, which come in May, and were actually eaten in Galilee the latter end of that month by Dr. Pococke, he having stopped at an Arab tent, where they prepared him eggs, and four milk, he tells us, cutting into it raw cucumbers, as a *cooling* diet in that season, which he found very hot: cucumbers continue at Aleppo to the end of July, and are brought again to market in September and October, and consequently are contemporaries with grapes and olives, according to Jer. xl. 10, 12²¹, as well as with beans and lentils. Dr. Ruffell also tells us that the squash comes in towards the end of September, and continues all the year; but that the orange-shaped pumpkin is more common in the summer-months. Of one or other of these kinds of fruit, I should think the writer of the 2 Sam. designed to be understood: they are all more or less of considerable size; they are contemporary with beans; and fit for them that have to travel through a dry wilderness, in the latter part of the spring, when the weather grows hot, as Pococke found it, about which time, (from the circumstance of the

²⁰ Shaw and Ruffell. [²¹ If the term translated summer-fruits signifies all fruits of this class of plants, they might be *melens* those that came to Gedaliah gathered; though they could not well be the things Ziba carried to David, which, more probably, were *cucumbers*.]

beans and the lentils,) it is plain that David fled from Abfalom.

If this be allowed, it will appear that they were called summer-fruits, from their being eaten *to allay the summer-beats*; not from their being dried in the summer, as Vatablus strangely imagines²²; nor from their being produced only in that time of the year; for this passage shews that they were come to maturity before beans went out, before summer therefore.

My reader will observe that I suppose the productions of Judæa were, in point of time, very nearly the same with those of Aleppo and Barbary; he has seen the ground of this in the close of the first chapter.

OBSERVATION LVI.

[*Musick* so universally attends the Eastern feasts, that I should hardly make this chapter complete without some account of it, and in particular of the *tabret*, which Isaiiah describes as used in their feasts along with *wine*, ch. v. 12.

I mention this instrument in particular, because I have made several remarks relating to it.

The first is, that the original word translated *tabret* is to be met with about twenty times in the Hebrew Bible. About half that number of times it is translated *tabret*, and

²² Vide Poli Syn. in Jer. xl. 10.

as many times *timbrel*. How unhappily perplexing is this! It is of very little consequence perhaps, on various accounts, which word was used in our version; but as there is but one in the original invariably, where *tabret* is used and where *timbrel* in our version, it would certainly have been agreeable to have fixed upon one English word. What is more extraordinary, where these words occur, there is no intimation in the margin of any of these places that the other word might have been equally well made use of, excepting in Jer. xxxi. 4, where in the text it is rendered *tabret*, in the margin *timbrel*. The *tabret* and the *timbrel* of the Scriptures do not mean two different instruments; the word in the original is one in all the places in which these two words occur.

Secondly, Whatever instrument of music was meant by the original word, it was made use of, we may be positive, by *females*. Exod. xv. 20, Judges xi. 34, 1 Sam. xviii. 6, Pf. lxxviii. 25, Jer. xxxi. 4, are incontrovertible proofs of it. I think we may be sure it was played on by *men* too, from 1 Sam. x. 5. I do not mention 2 Sam. vi. 5, and 1 Chron. xiii. 8, here, because what is said Pf. lxxviii. 25. renders their evidence dubious.

Thirdly, Sir John Chardin, in one of his MSS, after describing an Eastern entertainment of music from Dr. Castell's Lexicon, in terms exactly of the same import with Dr. Russell's account of the Aleppine *diff*, tells us,

us, that the Eastern women hardly make use of any other instruments but *tarjs*. There are two sorts of them, he says, one has a membrane of skin, the other not, and this last kind is most used in the Indies, on account, I believe, of the great humidity there. And having afterwards remarked that the passages he had cited expressed womens playing on this instrument, he repeats it again, that the Eastern women scarcely touch any other instrument. If the female music of antiquity was as limited as it is now in the East, and I cannot help remarking, that the passages I have cited above, which speak of the womens playing on music, seem very much to limit them to timbrels or tabrets, they had then but one sort of instrument that they commonly played upon.

My reader will now be curious to know, what Dr. Russell says about the *diff*—The *diff* then, according to him, “is a *loop*,
“ (sometimes with pieces of brass fixed in it
“ to make a jingling) over which a piece
“ of parchment is distended. It is beat with
“ the fingers, and is the true tympanum of
“ the ancients; as appears from its figure
“ in several relievos’.

The Ladies that do me the honour to peruse these papers will not be pleased, I am afraid, with this description; but as Russell tells us just before, that the *diff* serves chiefly to beat time to the voice, it is possible it might

¹ P. 94.

be used only to regulate those fine voices of the damsels of Israel, which had no other attendant music, while the voices of their *males*, according to this writer, “ is the “ worst of all their music, for they bellow “ so hideously that it spoils what without it “ would be in some degree harmonious.”

Dr. Russell describes but one kind of instrument of this sort. The *hoop* is covered with a *skin* at Aleppo, and as the humidity of the Holy-Land is not greater, doubtless so were the Jewish timbrels or tabrets. As it is beaten with their *fingers*, and those fingers are applied to a skin stretched over an *hollow hoop*, the description gives great life to the words of the Prophet Nahum, who compares women’s beating on their breasts, in deep anguish, to their playing on a tabret, ch. ii. 7.

OBSERVATION LVII.

An attempt to ascertain with exactness all the kinds of musical instruments, mentioned in Holy Writ, would, probably, be vain, certainly it would be useless, since in general the knowing that the sacred writer is speaking of *music* is sufficient for us ; however, where things present themselves, without any attending difficulty, it would be wrong to neglect such notices ; and for this reason I would observe here, that another instrument played upon in the Jewish feasts,

ac-

ording to Ifaiah v. 12, may be determined without scruple, I apprehend, to be a *bag-pipe*.

Dr. Ruffell obferves of the *diff*, mentioned under the preceding Obfervation, that it exactly answers the *Roman tympanum*, as it appears in ancient relievos ; he alfo proves, by a quotation from *Juvenal*, that the Romans had the tympanum from *Syria* ; this Syrian inftrument then is juft what it was feventeen or eighteen hundred years ago. The fame reasons that have kept it unaltered fo many years, probably operated as many generations before that ; and might equally preferve *others* of their mufical inftruments unchanged.

After mentioning the mufical inftruments they ufe at Aleppo, Dr. Ruffell adds, “ Be-
“ fides the above-mentioned inftruments,
“ they have likewise a *fort of a bag-pipe*,
“ which numbers of idle fellows play upon
“ round the skirts of the town, making it
“ a pretence to ask a prefent of fuch as
“ pafs ¹.”

An inftrument ufed by the *vulgar* may be deemed to be as little liable to alteration as any, and confequently this bagpipe may be imagined to be very ancient.

And, when I find that the fame word ² that fignifies a goat’s fkin veflel, formed of the outer fkin of that animal tied up clofe at the feet, and gathered together at the neck, ufed for carrying wine and other li-

¹ Ibid.

² Nebel.

quids in, signifies also an ancient musical instrument, I am strongly prompted to conclude the word means that kind of *Syrian bagpipe* that Russell speaks of; and I cannot help wishing that very ingenious and modest author had given us a *figure* of it, as he has of five other instruments of music, made use of in that country.

As for our translators, they render *Nebel* by the word *viol*, in II. v. 12, and in four other places³, which word, according to Dr. Johnson, signifies a stringed instrument of music; but most commonly by the word *psaltery*⁴, which the same dictionary tells us signifies *a kind of harp, beaten with sticks*: very unlucky these translations, if *Nebel* really signifies a *bagpipe*!

Nor is it any objection to my supposition, that the *Nebel* was an instrument that anciently was united with *great pomp*, as appears from II. xiv. 11; for though we now very commonly associate the ideas of *meanness* and a *bagpipe* together, it doth not follow they do in other countries, or did so in other ages. A *bagpipe* was, some ages ago, I apprehend, a *venerable* kind of instrument *in the northern part of this island*.

³ Amos 6. 5, ch. 5. 23, II. 14. 11, and in the margin of II. 22. 24. ⁴ It is, however, a quite different word in Dan. 3. 5, 7, 10, 15, which is rendered psaltery in our version.

Of this instrument Dr. Shaw takes no notice, and therefore supposes it is unknown in Barbary.

I have only to add, that I am very sensible, not only our translators, but the learned in general, take the *Nebel* to have been a stringed instrument; and Pfeiffer, in his Collections⁵, has given us, from Kircher, who is said to have taken it from an old book in the Vatican, a figure of the *Nebel* sufficiently odd: I leave it to my reader to determine which sentiment is most probable⁶.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

Five or six sorts of *public* music are mentioned in the third of Daniel; which is about

⁵ Pfeifferi opera, tom. 1. p. 296. ⁶ Bythner, in his *Lyra*, observes, that the *nebel* was like a *leather-bottle*, but then explains himself as meaning something like the ancient Greek and Roman *lyre*, whose body was made of the *shell of a tortoise*, (See *Phil. Trans. Abrid.* vol. 4. part 1. p. 474,) but was a stringed instrument; and then cites Josephus, as saying that the *kinnor* was played upon with a plectrum, but the *nebel*, which had *twelve strings*, with the fingers. The authority of Josephus may be justly thought to be a great objection to my supposition: but as his testimony is not perfectly decisive with respect to the Hebrew instruments of music used before the captivity, so I may add, that upon consulting Josephus, I find he doth not say the *ναβλα* had *twelve strings*, but *twelve sounds*, and was played upon with the fingers: “ Η δε ναβλα, δωδεκα φθορους εχουσα, τοις δακτυλοις ηρουμεται.” (*Ant. Jud.* lib. 7. cap. 12. § 3.) Is this description perfectly incompatible with a bag-pipe?

the number of instruments used in public by the *Bashaws* at Aleppo.

“ The music of the country,” says *Ruffell*, “ is of two sorts ; one for the *field*, the other for the *chamber*. The first makes part of the retinue of the *Bashaws*, and other great military officers, and is used also in their garrisons. It consists of a sort of hautboy, shorter, but shriller than our’s ; trumpets, cymbals, large drums, the upper head of which is beat upon with an heavy drum-stick, the lower with a small switch. A *Vizir-Bashaw* has nine of these large drums, while a *Bashaw of two tails* has but eight, the distinction by which the music of one may be known from that of the other. Besides these, they have small drums, beat after the manner of our kettle-drums. This music at a distance has a tolerable good effect².

The

¹ P. 93. ² Mr. Drummond gives a similar account. The Eastern names which he gives us, speaking of the music of a Pacha making his public entry into Smyrna, differ ; but he mentions *five* different kinds, and apparently means the same instruments. “ Nothing more hideous can be conceived than the horrid sound of their instruments, especially as they were compounded. These consisted of a *zurnau*, or pipe, about eighteen inches in length, swelled towards the extremity ; *nagara*, or little kettle-drums, no larger than a common pewter plate ; brass plates, which they call *zel*, or cymbals, which a fellow jingled together ; a *burie*, being an ugly imitation of a trumpet ; and *downie*, or large drums, of which the performers beat the heads with a little short

“ club,

The two first of these, I imagine, but in an inverted order, may answer the two first terms mentioned Dan. iii. 5, and translated *cornet* and *flute*. Whether there is any correspondence between the rest of the music of the modern Bashaws and of king Nebuchadnezzar, I cannot say.]

C H A P. V.

Concerning their Manner of Travelling.

OBSERVATION I.

THE Eastern people are well known to carry with them in their journies several accommodations, and *provisions* in particular of various kinds; for they have no inns, properly speaking¹. They did so anciently². To give an account of these matters would coincide with the preceding chapter, and therefore I pass them over in silence; only I would remark, that those that travel on foot with expedition content themselves with a very *slight viaticum*.

The writer of the history of the piratical states of Barbary, speaking of the great expedition of the natives of the country about

“ club, having a great round knob at the end, at the same time they tickled the bottom with a long small stick.” Travels, p. 116.] ¹ See Shaw’s Pref. p. 14. note. ² Judges 19. 18—20.

Ceuta in carrying meſſages, ſome of them running one hundred and fifty miles in leſs than twenty-four hours, ſays, their “ temperance “ is not leſs admirable: for ſome meal, a “ few figs and raiſins, which they carry in “ a goat’s ſkin³, ſerves them a ſeven or “ eight

[³ Commentators ſeem to be at a great loſs how to explain the *basket* and the *ſtore*, mentioned Deut. 28. 5, 17. Why Moſes, who in the other verſes mentions things in general, ſhould in this caſe be ſo minute as to mention *baskets*, ſeems ſtrange; and they that interpret either the firſt or the ſecond of theſe words of the repositories of their corn, &c, forget that their barns, or ſtore-houſes, are ſpoken of preſently after this, in verſe 8th. Might I be permitted to propoſe my conjectures here, I ſhould ſay I ſhould be inclined to imagine, that the basket in this place means their *travelling baskets*; and the other word (their ſtore) ſignifies their *leather bags*: in both which they were wont to carry things in travelling. The firſt of theſe words occurs no where elſe in the Scriptures, but in the account that is given us of the convenience in which they were to carry their firſt-fruits to Jeruſalem. The other no where but in the deſcription of the hurrying journey of Iſrael out of Ægypt, where it means the utenſil in which they carried their dough then, which I have ſhewn elſewhere in theſe papers means a piece of leather drawn together by rings, and forming a kind of bag. See more of this ch. 10. Obſ. 28.

Agreeably to this Haſſelquiſt informs us, that the Eaſtern people uſe baskets in travelling: for ſpeaking of that ſpecies of the palm-tree which produces dates, and its great uſefulneſs to the people of thoſe countries, he tells us, that of the leaves of this tree they make baskets, or rather a kind of ſhort bags, which are uſed in Turkey on *journeys*, and in their houſes, p. 261, 262. Hampers and panniers are Engliſh terms, denoting travelling baskets, as *tena* ſeems to be an Hebrew word of the ſame general import, though their forms might very much differ, as it is certain that of the travelling baskets mentioned by Haſſelquiſt now does.

“ eight days journey, and their richest liquor is only honey and water.”

Not very different from this is the account the sacred writer gives, of the *provisions* carried by David and his men, when they went up with the Philistines to war against Saul, and which they had for their support in their *hurrying* pursuit after the Amalekites, as appears by what they gave the poor famished Ægyptian, bread, (water,) *figs*, and *raisins*, 1 Sam. xxx. 11, 12. The *bread* of the Israelites answers the *meal* of the people of Barbary; the *figs* and the *raisins* were the very things the Moors carry now with them.

We do not find any mention of honey in this account of that expedition of David; but it is represented in other passages of Scripture, as something very refreshing to them

In like manner, as they now carry meal, figs, and raisins, in a goat-skin, in Barbary, for a viaticum, they might do the same anciently; and consequently might carry merchandize after the same manner, particularly their honey, oil, and balm, mentioned Ezek. 27. 17. They were the proper vessels for such things. So Sir J. Chardin, who was so long in the East, and observed their customs with so much care, supposed, in a manuscript note on Gen. 43. 11, that the balm and the honey sent by Jacob into Ægypt for a present, were carried in goat, or kid-skins, in which all sorts of things, dry and liquid both, are wont to be carried in the East.

Understood after this manner, the passage promises Israel success in their commerce, as the next verse (the 6th) promises them personal safety in their going out and in their return. In this view the passage appears with due distinctness, and a noble extent.

that were almost spent with fatigue, 1 Sam. xiv. 27, 29 : which is enough to make us think they *sometimes* carried it with them in their journies or military expeditions.

OBSERVATION II.

In those dry countries they find themselves obliged to carry with them great leather-bottles of *water*, which they refill from time to time, as they have opportunity; but what is very extraordinary, in order to be able to do this, they, in many places, are obliged to carry *lines* and *buckets* with them.

So Thevenot, in giving an account of what he provided for his journey from Ægypt to Jerufalem, tells us, he did not forget *leather-buckets to draw water with*¹. Rauwolff goes farther, for he gives us to understand, that the wells of *inhabited countries there*, as well as in deserts, have oftentimes no implements for drawing of water, but what those bring with them that come thither: for, speaking of the well or cistern at Bethlehem, he says², it is a good rich cistern, deep and wide; for which reason “the
“ people that go to dip water, are provided
“ with *small leathern buckets* and a *line*, as is
“ *usual* in these countries; and so the merchants that go in caravans through great
“ deserts into far countries, provide themselves also with these, because in these

¹ Part I. p. 178.² P. 312.

“ countries you find more cisterns or wells
“ than springs that lie high.”

In how easy a light doth this place the Samaritan woman's talking of the *depth* of Jacob's well, and her remarking that she did not observe that our Lord had *any thing to draw with*, though he spoke of presenting her with water, John iv. 11.

Wells and cisterns differ from each other, in that the first are supplied with water by springs, the other by rain: both are to be found in considerable numbers in Judæa, and are, according to Rauwolff, more numerous in these countries than springs that lie high, than fountains and brooks that is of running water.

Some of these have been made for the use of the people that dwell in their neighbourhood, some for travellers, and especially those that travel for devotion. Thevenot found two³, made a little before his time for the use of travellers, by Turks of distinction, in the desert between Cairo and Gaza. And from an history d'Herbelot has given us⁴, it appears, that the Mohammedans have dug *wells in the deserts*, for the accommodation of those that go in pilgrimage to Mecca, their sacred city, where the distances between such places as Nature had made agreeable for them to stop, and take up water at, were too great: for he tells us that Gianabi, a famous Mohammedan rebel,

³ Part I. p. 179.

⁴ P. 396.

filled up with *sand* all the wells that had been dug in the road to Mecca for the benefit of the pilgrims, &c.

To conveniences *perhaps* of this kind made, or renewed, by the devout Israelites in the valley of Baca, to facilitate their going up to Jerufalem, the Psalmist refers in the lxxxivth Psalm, where he speaks of going from strength to strength till they appeared in Zion^s.

This same scarcity of water makes them particularly careful to *take up their lodgings*, as much as possible, near some river, fountain, or well: for which reason there is, we

[^s Sir J. Chardin observed this difference in the East between wells of living water and reservoirs of rain water, that these last have frequently, especially in the Indies, a flight of steps down to the water, that as the water diminishes, people may may still take it up with their hands; whereas he hardly ever observed a well furnished with these steps through all the East. He concludes from this circumstance, that the place from whence Rebecca took up water, Gen. 24. 11, was a reservoir of rain-water. This is the account that he gives us in his 6th MS. volume, and it explains very clearly what is meant by Rebecca's *going down* to the well, Gen 24. 16. But all reservoirs of rain-water have not these steps. His mentioning the Indies in particular shews, that in the nearer parts of the East they frequently are without them, as well as those receptacles of water that are supplied by springs: so the well to which the woman of Samaria repaired, it seems, was nothing but a reservoir of rain-water, since our Lord opposes its waters, I think, to living water, John 4. 10. If this remark be just, that which is now shewn for that well cannot be the true place, for it is supplied by springs: Mr. Maundrell expresses a jealousy of this kind, but he touches upon it with a very gentle hand, p. 62, 63.]

may believe, less of accident than we commonly think of in Jacob's lodging *on the banks* of Jabbok, Gen. xxxii. 22; and the men of David's waiting for him *by the brook* Besor, 1 Sam. xxx. 21, who could not hold out with him in his march. So Dr. Pococke tells us, that when he came to the fountain, which supplies the aqueduct of Tyre, he found there the great Sheik of those parts with a considerable number of attendants, who had stopped there, but soon went away, it being *usual* with them to halt wherever they find a spring⁶.

OBSERVATION III.

But, besides provisions for *themselves*, they are obliged to carry food for the beasts on which they ride, or carry their goods. That food is of different kinds. They make little or no *hay* in these countries, and are therefore very careful of their *straw*, which they cut into small bits, by an instrument which at the same time threshes out the corn; this chopped straw, with barley, beans, and balls made of bean and barley-meal, or of the pounded kernels of dates⁷, are what they are wont to feed them with.

The officers of Solomon are *accordingly* said to have brought, every man in his month, *barley* and *straw* for the horses and

⁶ Vol. 2. p. 81. ⁷ Maillett, Lett. 9. p. 8 and 13.

dromedaries, 1 Kings iv. 28. Not straw to litter them with, there is reason to think, for it is not *now* used in those countries for that purpose; but chopped straw for them to eat along with their barley. The litter they use for them is their own dung, dried in the sun, and bruised between their hands, which they heap up again in the morning, sprinkling it in the summer with fresh water, to keep it from corrupting².

In some other places we read of provender and straw, not *barley* and straw: because, it may be, *other* things were used for their food *anciently*, as well as now, besides barley and chopped straw.

One of the words translated provender, (Is. xxx. 24,) implies something of mixture, and the participle of the verb from which it is derived, is used for the mingling of flour with oil; so the verb in Judges xix. 21. may be as well translated, *he mingled* (food) *for the asses*, as, *he gave them provender*, signifying that he mixed some chopped straw and barley together for the asses. And thus also barley and chopped straw, as it lies just after reaping unseparated in the field³, might naturally be expressed by the Hebrew word we translate provender, which signifies barley and straw that had been mingled together, and accordingly seems to be so, Job

² Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168.

³ For, according to Maillet, they immediately after reaping chop the straw, and tread out the grain in the field itself.

xxiv. 6. “ They reap every one *bis corn* in the field.” “ Heb. mingled corn, or dredge,” says the margin. What ideas are usually affixed to that secondary translation, I do not know; but Job apparently alludes to the *provender*, or heap of chopped straw and corn lying mingled together in the field, after having passed under a threshing instrument, to which he compares the spoils that were taken from passengers, so early as his time, by those that lived somewhat after the present manner of the wild Arabs, which spoils are to them what the harvest and vintage were to others. To this agrees that other passage of Job where this word occurs, ch. vi. 5, “ Will the ox low (*in complaint*) “ over his provender?” or fodder, as it is translated in our version: when he has not only *straw enough*, but mixed with *barley*.

The accurate Vitranga, in his commentary, has taken notice of that word’s implying something of *mixture*, which is translated provender in Is. xxx. 24, but for want of more nicely attending to Eastern customs, though he has done it more than most commentators, he has been very unhappy in explaining the cause of it; for he supposes it signifies a mixture of straw, *hay*, and bran. I have no where observed in books of Travels, that they give their labouring beasts *bran* in the East, and *hay* is not made there⁺;
the

[⁺ To the testimony of other writers, concerning their not making hay, we may add that of Sir J. Chardin’s MS, which

the mixture that is meant, if we are to explain it by the present Eastern usages, is chopped straw and barley. But the additional word there translated *clean*, and in the margin *leavened*, which Vitringa observes is the proper meaning of the word, may be supposed to make the passage difficult. The Septuagint seem to have thought the words signified nothing more than straw mingled with winnowed barley: and if the word translated provender, though originally intended to express mixture, might afterwards come to signify *uncompounded* food, as Vitringa supposes, the passage is easily decyphered; for though the word translated *clean* doth commonly signify leavened, or made sour, yet not always, signifying sometimes mere mixing, as in Is. lxiii. 1, where it is used for staining a garment with blood, and so it may signify here, as the Septuagint seem to have understood the passage, chopped straw, leavened or mixed with barley. But there is no necessity of supposing the word translated provender, is used in a sense different from its common and ancient meaning, and signifying uncompounded meat for cattle; that single word may be understood to mean chopped straw mingled with barley, since we find that barley, when given to

which, speaking of a passage of the vulgar Latin translation, where the word *scenum* (hay) is used, says, *This is an error, arising from not having known Arabia or the adjoining countries; for no hay is made any where there.*]

beasts

beasts of labour, is sometimes mingled, or, to express it poetically, leavened, with a few beans, to which therefore the Prophet might refer.

The wild Arabs, who are extremely nice in managing their horses, give them no food but *very clean barley*⁵. The Israelites were not so scrupulous, as appears from the passage I cited relating to the provision made for Solomon's horses; but they might nevertheless think the cleanness of the provender a very great recommendation of it, and seem to have done so, since Isaiah, in the above-mentioned passage, speaks of leavened provender *winnowed* with the shovel and with the fan. It is the more important to them, as a good deal of earth, sand, and gravel, are wont, notwithstanding all their precautions, to be taken up with the grain, in their way of threshing⁶.

But though the Israelites, it should seem, were not so scrupulous as the Arabs, giving their beasts of burden *straw* as well as *barley*, yet it must have been much more commodious for them in their journeying to have carried barley alone, or balls of bean and barley-meal, rather than *a quantity of chopped straw*, with a little other provender of a better kind; and accordingly we find no mention made by Dr. Shaw, of any chopped straw being carried with them to Mount Si-

⁵ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168.

⁶ See Shaw, p. 139.

nai, but only barley, with a few beans intermixed, or the flour of one or other of them, or of both, made into balls with a little water⁷. The Levite's mentioning therefore his having straw⁸, along with other provender, rather conveys the idea of his being a person in mean circumstances, who was not able to feed his asses with *pure* barley, or those other sorts of provender that Eastern travellers are wont to carry with them.

OBSERVATION IV.

[Different things which they want in travelling are done up in different parcels, frequently in goat or kid-skins, and often put into one large coarse woolen sack, guarded with leather.

This is the account of Sir J. Chardin in his MS, which I have taken some notice of under an Observation of the second chapter; but he is much more large and explicit on this subject in a note of the sixth volume, on Gen. xlv. 1, which therefore I would here insert. *There are two sorts of sacks taken notice of in the history of Joseph, which ought not to be confounded; the one sort of sacks for the corn, the other for the baggage, and every thing in general which a person carries with him for his own use. It has been already*

⁷ Pref. p. 11.

⁸ Judges 19. 19.

¹ They that consult the original, will find there are two distinct words made use of there.

said,

said, there are no waggons almost through all Asia, as far as to the Indies, every thing is carried upon beasts of burthen, in sacks of wool, covered in the middle with leather, down to the bottom, the better to make resistance to water, &c. Sacks of this sort are called *Tambellit*. They inclose in them their things, done up in large parcels. It is of this kind of sacks we are to understand what is said here, and through this history, and not of the sacks in which they carried their corn. It would be necessary otherwise to believe that each of the Patriarchs carried but one sack of corn out of *Ægypt*, which is not at all likely, or reasonable to imagine. The text upon which I make this remark confirms my opinion, and that these sacks of which the Scripture speaks here were different from the sacks of corn; for Joseph ordered them to fill them with victuals as much as they could hold, which presupposes they were not full of corn. *Gen. xlii. 27.* furnishes another proof of this, "One of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn;" for if this sack had been a sack of wheat, it would follow, that they gave their beasts of burthen wheat at that time for food, which is not at all probable.—The translators of the Bible, and expositors still more, have confounded themselves in many places, for want of knowing the country which served as a theatre to all the transactions of the Old Testament, with respect to the customs practised there, and those things which
are

are proper and particular to it, which cannot be well learnt but on the place itself.

If these sacks are woollen, then the sackcloth with which the Eastern people were wont to clothe themselves at particular times, means coarse woollen cloth, such as they make sacks of, and neither hair-cloth, or rough harsh cloth of hemp, as we may have been ready to imagine, for it is the same Hebrew word which signifies sacks, that is translated sackcloth. And as the people of very remote antiquity commonly wore no linen, there was not that affectation in what they put on in times of humiliation, as we in the West may perhaps have apprehended — They only put on very coarse mean woollen garments, instead of those that were *finer*, but of the same general nature.

OBSERVATION V.

If in some places where there are wells, there are no conveniencies to draw any water with, to refresh the *fainting traveller*, according to a preceding Observation, there are other places where the wells are furnished with *troughs*, and *other contrivances for the watering cattle* that want to drink.

The MS. C. tells us *there are wells in Persia and in Arabia, in the driest places, and above all in the Indies, with troughs and basons of stone by the sides of them.*

He

He supposes the well called Beer-lahai-roi, mentioned Gen. xvi. 14, was thus furnished. I do not remember any circumstance mentioned in that part of the patriarchal history that proves this; but it is sufficiently apparent there, the well where Rebecca went to draw water, near the city of Nahor, had some convenience of this kind¹; as also had the Arabian well to which the daughters of Jethro resorted². Other wells, without doubt, had the like conveniencies, though not distinctly mentioned.

OBSERVATION VI.

When they travel to *distant* places, they are wont to carry their baggage to some place of rendezvous some time before they set out.

The account that an ingenious commentator, whose expositions are generally joined to Bishop Patrick's, gives of a paragraph of the prophet Ezekiel¹, ought to be taken notice of here: it is, in few words, this, *that the prophet was to get his goods together, to pack them up openly, and at noon-day, that all might see, and take notice of it; that he was to go forth at even, as men do that would go off by stealth: that he was to dig through the wall, to shew that Zedekiah should make his escape by the same means; that what the prophet was commanded to carry out in the twilight, must be something different from the goods he*

¹ Gen. 24. 20. ² Exod. 2. 16. ¹ Ch. 12. 3—7.

removed in the day-time, and therefore must mean provision for his present subsistence; and that he was to cover his face, so as not to see the ground, as Zedekiah should do, that he might not be discovered.

Sir John Chardin, on the contrary, supposes there was nothing unusual, nothing very particular, in the two first of the above-mentioned circumstances. His manuscript notes on this passage of Ezekiel are to the following purport. *This is as they do in the caravans: they carry out their baggage in the day-time, and the caravan loads in the evening, for in the morning it is too hot to set out on a journey for that day, and they cannot well see in the night. However, this depends on the length of their journies; for when they are too short to take up a whole night, they load in the night, in order to arrive at their journey's end early in the morning, it being a greater inconvenience to arrive at an unknown place in the night, than to set out on a journey then. As to his digging through the wall, he says Ezekiel is speaking, without doubt, of the walls of the caravanferay. These walls, in the East, being mostly of earth, (mud or clay,) they may easily be bored through.*

I cannot, I own, entirely adopt either of these accounts: Ezekiel's collecting together his goods, doth not look like a person's flying in a hurry, and by *stealth*; and consequently his going forth *in the evening*, in consequence of this preparation, cannot be con-
 strued

frued as designed to signify a *stealing* away. These managements rather mark out the *distance of the way* they were going: going into captivity in a very far country. *The going into captivity had no privacy* attending it; and accordingly, the sending their goods to a common rendezvous beforehand, and setting out in an evening, are known to be Eastern usages.

On the other hand, I should not imagine it was the *wall of a caravanferay*, or of any place like a caravanferay, but the wall of the place where Ezekiel was, either of *his own dwelling*, or of the *town* in which he then resided: a management designed to mark out the flight of Zedekiah; as the two first circumstances were intended to shadow out the carrying Israel openly, and avowedly, into captivity.

Ezekiel was, I apprehend, to do two things—to imitate the *going of the people into captivity*, and the *hurrying flight of the king*: two very distinct things. The mournful, but *composed* collecting together all they had for a transmigration, and lading them perhaps on asses, being as remote as could be from the *hurrying and secret* management of one making a private breach in a wall, and going off precipitately, with a few of his most valuable effects on his shoulder, which were, I should think, what Ezekiel was to carry, when he squeezed through the aperture in the wall, not provisions.

Nor am I sure the Prophet's *covering his face* was designed for *concealment*: it might be to express Zedekiah's *distress*. David, it is certain, had his head covered when he fled from Abfalom, at a time when he intended no concealment²; and when Zedekiah fled, it was *in the night*³, and consequently such a concealment not wanted; not to say, it would have been embarrassing to him in his flight, *not to be able to see the ground with his eyes*.

The Prophet mentions the digging through the wall, *after* mentioning his preparation for removing as into captivity; but is it necessary for us to suppose, these emblematical actions of the Prophet are *ranged* just as he performed them?

Sir John also applies this custom, of waiting some time at a general rendezvous before they set out, to Ezra's continuing three days at the river Ahava, Ezra viii. 15: upon which he remarks, that they are wont to encamp after this manner four or five leagues from Bagdad, upon an arm of the Tigris, where the caravans always stay some days, to see whether they have got all things requisite for a long voyage, and whether nobody is left behind.]

² 2 Sam. 15. 30.
ch. 39. 4.

³ 2 Kings 25. 4, Jer. 52. 7.

OBSERVATION VII.

IV.

They fet out, at least in their longer journeys, with *music*: for when the Prefetto of Ægypt, whose Journal the late Bishop of Clogher published, was preparing for his journey, he complains of his being incommoded by the *songs* of his Eastern friends, who took leave in this manner of their relations and acquaintance before their setting out.

This illustrates the complaint of Laban, Gen. xxxi. 27, “ Wherefore didst thou flee
“ away secretly, and steal away from me ?
“ and didst not tell me, that I might have
“ sent thee away with mirth, and with *songs*,
“ with tabret and with harp ?”

But the Prefetto takes no notice of a circumstance that frequently attends these travelling Eastern songs, though it illustrates another passage of Scripture, and that is the *extemporaneousness* of them. A guard of Arab horsemen escorted the gentlemen that visited Palmyra in 1751; and when the business of the day was over, coffee and a pipe of tobacco was, the ingenious editor of those Ruins tells us, their highest luxury; and when they indulged in this, sitting in a circle, one of the company entertained the rest with a *song* or story, the subject love or war, and the composition *sometimes extempora-*

rary'. The *extemporary* devotional songs then, mentioned by the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 26, were by no means contrary to the turn of mind of the Eastern people. The songs of the Israelitish women, when they came to meet king Saul after the slaughter of the Philistines by David, seem to have been of the same kind, for they answered one another, saying, *Saul* has slain his thousands, and *David* his ten thousands.

[The Psalms, the Hymns, and the Odes, mentioned by Saint Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, (ch. iii. 16,) were apparently supposed to be of the same *extemporary* kind, for they were to be the vehicles of *appropriate* instruction and admonition: frequency of singing, and extemporaneousness of composition, are both supposed there.]

These valedictory songs however, which the Prefetto takes notice of, are not to be supposed to be a constant prelude to their journies, but only those of the most solemn kind; and there is therefore an energy in those words of Laban, which ought to be remarked, Why didst thou not tell me, that I might have sent thee away, and taken my leave of my daughters, going *such* a journey, with all *due solemnity*, according to the custom of my country?

* P. 32. The extemporaneousness of the Eastern songs is very often mentioned in the Arabian Nights Entertainments.

OBSERVATION VIII.

[The common pace of travelling in these countries is *very slow*; other motions then must have appeared *very rapid*.

The common pace of *camels* in travelling, the creature most frequently used, without doubt, in the country of Job, is little more than two miles an hour: so Plaistead supposes ¹ he travelled through the desert at the rate of thirty miles a day, and that they were in motion thirteen hours each day; which motion is at the rate of two miles and one third an hour. The reason of this very slow pace is, because the camels perpetually nibble every thing they find proper for food, as they pass along.

Those that carried messages in haste moved very differently. It appears, by Esth. viii. 10, that the word *runners*, or *posts*, as we translate it, doth not always signify those that carried dispatches *on foot*; and that they sometimes rode *dromedaries*, a sort of camel which is extremely swift. Lady Montague tells us, “ that after the defeat at Peterwaradin, *they far outran the swiftest horses*, “ and brought the first news of the battle “ at Belgrade ².” Agreeably to this Dr. Shaw assures us, that the Shekh that conducted him to Mount Sinai, and rode upon a ca-

¹ P. 81.² Lett. vol. 2. p. 65.

mel of this kind, would depart from the caravan where he was, “ reconnoitre another just in view, and return *in less than a quarter of an hour* ³.” Even their messengers that run a foot with dispatches, move with amazing speed in Barbary, for it should seem they will run *one hundred and fifty miles in less than twenty-four hours* ⁴, which is five times farther than a camel-caravan goes in a day.

With what energy then might Job say, ch. ix. 25, “ My days are swifter than a *post*” — instead of passing away with a *slowness of motion* like that of a *caravan*, my days of prosperity have disappeared with a swiftness like that of a messenger carrying dispatches, mounted on a *dromedary*.

The man of patience goes on, and complains, “ they are passed away as the *swift ships*.” I shall not examine what commentators have conjectured concerning these ships of *Ebeb*, but would set down the remark of Sir J. Chardin on this place, which I read, I confess, with some surprize. His manuscript note is to this purpose: *Senaut in his paraphrase describes these as vessels laden with fruit, whose mariners, apprehensive of their lading being in danger of being spoiled, navigated them with all the sail they could make.* Sir John, on the contrary, *believes this to be a great error of that learned eloquent writer, and that Job is speaking of boats carried by the stream, not by the wind, down the*

³ P. 167. ⁴ See the first Observation of this chapter.

Tigris, which pass along with extreme rapidity. The image is formed from these boats, and from those of the Euphrates.

Whatever the *ships of Ebeh* precisely mean, vessels that move *swiftly* are certainly meant. Many writers have imagined the words are to be understood of the *boats of the Nile*, and particularly of those extremely *light* vessels made of the *papyrus*, of which Isaiah is believed to speak, ch. xviii. 2. It is a happy thought in Chardin, I should apprehend, to refer the complaint of Job to the swift boats used in rivers near his own country, rather than to those of the *Nile*. God might be represented, in the close of the book, as adducing, in his expostulations with him, instances of his power from the ends of the earth, for he is Creator of *universal* nature; but it is more natural to refer the images used in the complaint of an Arab, made to his own countrymen, to things in or near that country, rather than to what passed in *Ægypt*.

Be this, however, as it will, I cannot apprehend the supposition just, that those boats of antiquity, formed of the *papyrus*, moved with *superior rapidity* to other vessels. Things of so slight a texture cannot be imagined to cut their way in the water with any force; their moving against the stream must soon have demolished them, and their moving with the stream, but with a degree of celerity *far greater* than the water, must

have produced the like effect⁵. Their celerity then could not have been very great, since the Nile, if Dr. Perry be to be credited⁶, never moves with a rapidity greater than that of three miles an hour, which is not one third faster than that of a common caravan-camel: "We have carefully examined," says this author, "the degree or quantity of the Nile's current, at different seasons of the year; and though in the month of *August* (the time of its inundation) it runs near three miles an hour, yet in the month of *November* it did not run above two miles an hour; and in the months of *April* or *May*, no more than half a league."

Accordingly, when Dr. Perry went up the Nile, a run of about thirty leagues, as he reckoned, *cost him three days, though for two of them they had a fair and strong gale of wind*. This was no more than a caravan-pace, reckoning it at a medium. And Cap-

⁵ If the stream moved with a rapidity marked out by the letter A, and the papyraceous boat with a superadded degree of velocity expressed by B, much more considerable than A, the whole velocity of the boat would be equal to $A + B$, and the resistance from the water the same thing, I imagine, as if the vessel moved in a stagnant lake with a force equal to B; which force, if considerable, must soon have destroyed *so delicate* a structure. And agreeably to this apprehension, their barques used now on the Nile are *universally* of sycamore, and those tender vessels no more made use of: at least I do not remember any traveller that has mentioned his having seen there now any boats made of the papyrus.

⁶ P. 476.

tain Norden was sixteen days sailing an hundred leagues up the Nile, or three hundred miles; and if we suppose his barque was in motion but ten days out of the sixteen, and thirteen hours each day, it was only a caravan-pace. He was eleven days coming the same length of way down stream; so that he cannot be imagined, if we make great allowances for stopping, though he returned with the stream, to have come down more than forty miles a day, which is no extraordinary rapidity. The cause of this might be the wind's being commonly in the north, consequently against his return; but so it generally is in *Ægypt*. I cannot then apprehend the motion of the *boats of the Nile* was so extremely swift, as to be used as an allusion by an Arab, that is supposed to have resided in a country considerably remote.

But I cannot, on the other hand, see any reason to suppose with Sir John Chardin, that Job referred to boats on the *Euphrates* or on the *Tigris*, which is supposed to be still more rapid, *carried by the stream alone*, without the adventitious help of sails. I cannot see why he may not be conceived to represent his days of prosperity as passing away with the swiftness of a courier on a dromedary, instead of moving on with the gentle pace of a common camel; as running away with the speed of a boat *sailing* down the *Euphrates* with a strong and fair gale of wind,
instead

instead of sliding gently along like some float, or other vehicle used on that river, and carried with no other force than that of the stream, in the stiller season of the year; yea, as passing away with a celerity resembling that of an eagle, when hastening to its prey.

Various are the inventions the people of these countries still make use of to float down their rivers: they are extremely simple, and some of them, without doubt, as ancient as the age of Job; and to a comparison made between them and *vessels with sails*, I should, without hesitation, suppose he refers; and those of the *Euphrates*, without going to the *Nile*, would, without doubt, answer his views.

OBSERVATION IX.

As their horses eat chiefly barley, so they do not eat it out of a *manger* as with us, but out of *bags of hair-cloth*, which are hung about their heads for that purpose: they have *no mangers* in the East.

D'Arvieux informs us, that the Arab horses are fed after this manner out of bags¹; and Thevenot tells us² that they are made of black goats-hair, and that they use no manger for feeding their horses, neither in Persia nor Turkey.

What then are we to understand by the manger in which our Lord was laid in his

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168.

² Part 2. p. 113.

infancy? Or are their customs changed as to this point?

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on Luke ii. 7, supposes that by a manger is meant one of those holes of stone, or good cement, which they have in the stables of their caravanjeras, which are very large, and long enough to lay a child in. It is somewhat unlucky that he has not told us what those holes are made for; however, this account supposes they really have no mangers there.

OBSERVATION X.

As caravans are oftentimes very numerous, so they are composed of people of *different countries* very frequently; but they are denominated a Caravan of the people that are most numerous in it, and to which the captain of it belongs.

So we call one a Caravan of Armenians, says Sir J. Chardin in his MS, because it is chiefly composed of Armenians, and because the Caravan-Bashaw is of that nation, though there are Turks, &c, in the caravan, as well as Armenians.

He applies this observation to solve a difficulty mentioned by St. Austin—the calling the caravan of merchants, to which Joseph was sold by his brethren, sometimes *Ishmaelites*, sometimes *Midianites*¹: he supposes it was *principally* composed of *Ishmaelites*,

¹ Gen. 37. 25, 28, 36.

but that there were Midianites among them, to whom Joseph was sold.

I mention this, merely, as it is a circumstance of Eastern travelling that may give some amusement: for the true solution seems to me to be, that they were *Ishmaelites who dwelt in the land of Midian* who composed the caravan, and to whom Joseph was sold. It appears from Judges viii. 22, 24, that Ishmaelites and Midianites were names sometimes applied to the same people: and as the descendants of Midian were not Ishmaelites, for Midian was a son of Abraham by Keturah, as Ishmael was by Hagar; the Ishmaelites, or some of the Ishmaelites, must have been Midianites by dwelling in the *land of Midian*. And though people of different nations, without doubt, travelled in ancient times in the same caravan, as they do now, yet the terms are so indiscriminately made use of in the history, (Midianites and Ishmaelites,) that we cannot so naturally explain Moses, by saying Joseph was sold to Midianitish merchants travelling in a caravan of Ishmaelites, as in the manner I have been pointing out.]

V.

OBSERVATION XI.

The editor of the Ruins of Palmyra tells us¹, that the caravan they formed, to go to

¹ P. 34.

that

that place, consisted of about two hundred persons, and about the same number of beasts of carriage, which were an odd mixture of horses, camels, mules², and asses; but there is no account of any vehicle drawn *on wheels* in that expedition, nor do we find an account of any such things in other Eastern journies.

There are, however, some vehicles among them used for the sick³, or for *persons of high distinction*. So Pitts observeth, in his account of his return from Mecca, that at the head of each division some great *gentleman* or *officer* was carried in a thing like an *horse-litter*, borne by two camels, one before and the other behind, which was covered all over with fear-cloth, and over that again with green broad-cloth, and set forth very handsomely. If he had a wife attending him, she was carried in another. This is apparently a *mark of distinction*.

There is another Eastern vehicle used in their journies, which Thevenot calls a *coune*. He tells us⁴, the *counes* are hampers, like

[² Besides mules, which are not uncommon in England, but appear much more frequently in the East, particularly in *Arabia*, Sir J. Chardin says, in his MS, *In this country there is also another animal of a mixed nature, begotten by an ass upon a cow, which he had seen*. Dr. Shaw mentions the same, as met with in Barbary, where it is called *Kumrah*, p. 166. Anah (Gen. 36, 24,) seems to have been the first that thought of the propagation of such a creature as a mule; to whom the *Kumrah* is to be ascribed doth not appear.] ³ Maillet, Lett. dern. p. 230. ⁴ Part 1. p. 177, 178.

cradles, carried upon camels backs, one on each side, having a back, head, and sides, like the great chairs sick people sit in. A man rides in each of these counces, and over them they lay a covering, which keeps them both from the rain and sun, leaving as it were a window before and behind upon the camel's back. The riding in these is also, according to Maillet, a *mark of distinction*: for, speaking⁵ of the pilgrimage to Mecca, he says, *ladies of any figure* have litters; *others* are carried sitting in chairs made like covered cages, hanging on both sides of a camel; and as for *ordinary women*, they are mounted on camels without such conveniences, after the manner of the Arab women⁶, and cover themselves from sight, and the heat of the sun, as well as they can, with their veils.

These are the vehicles which are in present use in the Levant. Coaches, on the other

⁵ Lett. dern. p. 230. [⁶ Rachel seems to have been brought away by Jacob out of Mesopotamia in the same manner, Gen. 31. 34, consequently she rode upon an *Hiran*, after the Arab mode, which is a piece of serge, la Roque tells us, p. 127, of his Voyage into Palæstine, about six ells long, laid upon the saddle, which is of wood in these countries, in order to make the sitting more easy, and which *Hiran*, he informs us, is made use of as a mattress, when they stop for a night in a place, and on which they lodge; as their wallets serve for cushions, or a bolster. It was the *Hiran*, I presume, part of the camel's furniture, under which she hid her father's Teraphim, and on which she sat, according to their customs, in her tent, and therefore unsuspected. Sir J. Chardin's MS. mentions this circumstance, and it is, I think, a very natural illustration of the passage.]

hand,

hand, Dr. Ruffell assures us, are not in use at Aleppo; nor do we meet with any account of their commonly using them in any other part of the East: but one would imagine, that if ever such conveniences as coaches had been in use, they would not have been laid aside in countries where ease and elegance are so much consulted.

As then the caravans of the returning Israelites are described by the Prophet⁷, as composed, like Mr. Dawkins's to Palmyra, of *horses*, and *mules*, and *swift beasts*; so are we to understand, I imagine, the other terms of *litters* and *counes*, rather than of *coaches*, which the margin mentions; or of *covered waggons*, which some Dutch commentators⁸ suppose one of the words may signify, unluckily transferring the customs of their own country to the East; or of *chariots*, in our common sense of the word.

For, though our translators have given us the word chariot in many passages of Scripture, those *wheel-vehicles* which those writers speak of, and which our version renders chariots, seem to have been mere *warlike machines*; nor do we ever read of ladies riding in them. On the other hand, a word derived from the same original is made use of for a seat any how moved, such as the mercy-seat, 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, where our translators have used the word chariot, but which

⁷ Is. 66. 20.

⁸ Vitringa.

was no more of a chariot in the common sense of the word, than a litter is; it is made use of also for that sort of seat, mentioned Lev. 15. 9, which they have rendered *saddle*, but which seems to mean a *litter*, or a *coune*.

In these vehicles many of the Israelites were to be conducted, according to the Prophet, not on the account of sickness, but to mark out the *eminence* of those Jews, and to express the *great respect* their conductors should have for them.

OBSERVATION XII.

[The Eastern swords, whose blades are very broad, are worn by the inhabitants of those countries *under their thigh*, when they travel on horseback.

The MS. C. takes notice of these particulars, in two notes on Judges iii. In one of them he mentions the last of these circumstances after this manner: *The Eastern people have their swords hanging down at length, and the Turks wear their swords on horseback under their thigh.* Pf. xlv. 3, and Cant. iii. 8, shew they wore them after the same manner anciently.]

VI.

OBSERVATION XIII.

Where travellers are not so numerous as in caravans, their appearance differs a good deal

deal from that of those that journey among us. To see a person *mounted*, and attended by a servant *on foot*, would seem odd to us; and it would be much more so to see that servant *driving* the beast before him, or *goad-ing* it along: yet these are Eastern modes.

So Dr. Pococke, in his account of Ægypt, tells us that the man, (the husband, I suppose, he means,) always leads the Lady's ass there; and if she has a servant, he goes on one side; but the ass-driver follows the man, goads on the beast, and when he is to turn, directs his head with a pole¹.

The Shunamite, when she went to the Prophet, did not desire so much attendance, only requested her husband to send her an ass, and its driver, to whom she said, "*Drive*, and go forward, slack not thy riding for me, except I bid thee." 2 Kings iv. 24. It appears from the Eastern manner of the women's riding on asses, that the word is rightly translated *drive*, rather than *lead*; and this account of Dr. Pococke will also explain why she did not desire two asses, one for herself, and the other for the servant that attended her.

Solomon might refer to the same, when he says, "I have seen servants upon horses, and Princes walking as servants *upon the earth*," Eccl. x. 7. My reader however will meet with a more exact illustration of this passage in a succeeding chapter².

¹ Vol. I. p. 191.

² Ch. 6. Observation 37.

OBSERVATION XIV.

[They that travel on foot are obliged to fasten their garments, at a *greater height from their feet* than they are wont to do at other times.

This is what some have understood to be meant by the *girding their loins*: not simply their having girdles about them, but the wearing their garments at a greater height than usual.

There are two ways of doing this, Sir J. Chardin remarks in his MS, after having informed us *that the dress of the Eastern people is a long vest, reaching down to the calf of the leg, more or less fitted to the body, and fastened upon the loins by a girdle, which goes three or four times round them. This dress is fastened higher up two ways: the one, which is not much used, is to draw up the vest above the girdle, just as the monks do when they travel on foot; the other, which is the common way, is to tuck up the fore-parts of the vest into the girdle, and so fasten them. All persons in the East that journey on foot always gather up their vest, by which they walk more commodiously, having the leg and knee unburthened and unembarrassed by the vest, which they are not when that hangs over them. And after this manner he supposes the Israelites were prepared for their going out of Ægypt, when they eat the first passover, Exod. xii. 11.*

He

He takes notice, in the same passage, of the *singularity* of their having *shoes on their feet* at that repast. They in common, he observes, put off their shoes when they eat, for which he assigns two reasons: the one, that, as they do not use tables and chairs in the East, as in Europe, but cover their floors with carpets, they might not *scilicet those beautiful pieces of furniture*; the other, because it would be *troublesome* to keep their shoes upon their feet, they sitting cross-legged on the floor, and having no hinder quarters to their shoes, which are made like slippers.

He takes no notice in this note, of their being to eat this passover with a *staff in their hand*; but he elsewhere observes, that the Eastern people very universally make use of a staff when they journey on foot; and this passage plainly supposes it.]

OBSERVATION XV.

VII.

There are *roads* in these countries, but it is very easy to turn out of them, and go to a place by winding about over the lands, when that is thought safer.

Dr. Shaw takes notice of this circumstance in Barbary¹, where he says they found no hedges, or mounds, or inclosures, to retard or molest them. To this Deborah doubtless refers, though the Doctor does not ap-

¹ Pref. p. 14, 15.

ply this circumstance to that passage, when she says, “ In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through *by-ways*,” or crooked ways according to the margin, Judges v. 6.

The account Bishop Pococke gives² of the manner in which that Arab, under whose care he had put himself, conducted him to Jerufalem, illustrates this with great liveliness, which his Lordship tells us was by night, and “ not by the *high-road*, but “ through the *fields*; and I observed,” says he, “ that he avoided as much as he could “ going near any village or encampment, “ and sometimes stood still, as I thought, “ to hearken.” And just in that manner people were obliged to travel in Judæa in the days of Shamgar and Jael.

We are not however to imagine there are no inclosures at all; they have mounds of earth, walls, or living fences, about their gardens. So Rauwolff tells us, about Tripoly there are abundance of vineyards, and gardens, inclosed for the most part with hedges, between which gardens run several roads, and pleasant shady walks: these hedges, he says, chiefly consist of the rhamnus, paliurus, oxyacantha, phillyrea, lycium, balauftium, rubus, and dwarf palm-trees³. The gardens about Jerufalem he describes as furrounded by mud-walls, not

² Vol. 2.³ P. 21, 22.

above four feet high, *easily climbed over*, and washed down by rain in a very little time⁴. So, agreeably to the first, we read of persons being sharper than a *thorn-hedge*, Mic. vii. 4; and answerable to the second, of breaking an hedge, or *wall of earth* rather, it being a different word from the other, and being bitten by a serpent, Eccl. x. 8.

[Rauwolff's enumeration of the shrubs that are used in the East for fencing, shows that not only are vegetables armed with spines employed there for that use, but others also. This is confirmed by Hasselquist, who tells us⁵, that he saw the *plantain-tree*, *vine*, the *peach*, and the *mulberry-tree*, all four made use of in Ægypt to hedge about a garden, in which sugar-canes and different sorts of cucumbers were planted: now these are all unarmed plants. This consideration throws a great energy into the words of Solomon, Prov. xv. 19, "The way of a slothful man is an hedge of thorns," it appears as difficult to him, not only as breaking through an *hedge*, but even through a *thorn-fence*; and into that threatening of God to Israel, "Behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns," Hof. ii. 6.

As however their plantations of various *esculent* vegetables are not, unfrequently, now uninclosed in these countries, so Sir John

⁴ P. 236.

⁵ P. III.

Chardin seems to suppose, in his MS⁶, it was so there anciently, and that *on this account* it was those lodges and booths were made, which Isaiah refers to in the eighth verse of his first chapter, “The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers.” He describes these lodges *as places defended from the sun by fods, straw, and leaves, made for the watching the fruits of those places, such as cucumbers, melons, grapes, &c, when they begin to ripen; under which also they sell the produce of such gardens.* After which he remarks, *that the Armenian version translates those words of the 80th Psalm, “They have made Jerusalem desolate,” by this expression, they have made it like “the lodges of those that watch fruit.”*

As it was so easy to get over some of their fences, such watch-houses might be very requisite in such gardens as had hedges, but they must have been more necessary still in those that were perfectly open. Several travellers have taken notice of such improved spots of ground, which they have met with from time to time; and *cucumbers* have been

⁶ Locus cespitibus, framentis, & frondibus, a radiis folis munitus, pro custodiendis fructibus. Comme concombres, melons, raisins, & autres ne sont en jardins, ni en lieux enfermés, &c, desquels commencent a meurir, on y batit des telles logettes, pour les garder, et aussi pour vendre les fruits et les legumes dessous. Figure tres naive. In Ps. 80, *feceruntque Jerusalem desolatam*, Armeniaca Biblia habent, *incuria custodientium fructus.*

expressly mentioned, as one thing they have cultivated in such places⁷, as the Prophet here particularizes that species of vegetables—
“ as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers.”

As *grapes* also, according to Sir John Chardin, are found among other things in such cultivated spots, and must be doubly delightful to those that travel in a desolate kind of country, there is reason to believe there is a reference to such plantations in Hof. ix. 10, “ I found Israel like grapes in
“ the wilderness:” not I found Israel when *they* were in the wilderness, pleasant to me as grapes; but as *grapes* found in some cultivated place in a wilderness are pleasant to a traveller through such deserts, so has Israel been to me.

Sir John Chardin mentions these open plantations of esculent vegetables in another note, on Jer. iv. 17, which place is extremely illustrated by it. The prophet says, “ As
“ keepers of a field are they against her
“ round about, &c:” on which he remarks, that *as in the East pulse, roots, &c, grow in open and uninclosed fields, when they begin to be fit to gather, they place guards, if near a great road more, if distant fewer, who place themselves in a round about these grounds, as is practised in Arabia.*

He also, in a note on Mic. vii. 1, takes notice of the fondness of the Persians, and

⁷ Thevenot, Part 2d, p. 48. Phil. Transf. Abr. vol. 3. p. 489.

Turks, for their fruits as soon as they approach to ripeness, the Persians especially, who eat almonds, plums, melons, before they are ripe, the great dryness and the temperature of the air preventing flatulencies.

OBSERVATION XVI.

One would have imagined, that in so warm a climate as Judæa, and the neighbouring countries, these *living fences* would have been thought sufficient for their vineyards; but it seems *stone-walls* are frequently used.

Thus Egmont or Heyman, describing the country about Saphet, a celebrated city of Galilee, tells us “the country round it is finely improved, the declivity being “covered “with vines supported by low walls”.

The like management, it should seem, obtained anciently: Prov. xxiv. 31. speaking of a stone-wall about a vineyard; and walls being mentioned by Job, in connexion, I think, with treading wine-presses, ch. xxiv.

11. Our translators indeed understood the passage otherwise, “Which make oil within “their walls, and tread their wine-presses, “and suffer thirst:” but it is extremely difficult to tell what greater hardship attended making oil within walls, than in the open air; nor doth any *contrast* appear between their labour as to this and what followed, as there does between treading wine-

¹ Vol. 2. p. 39, 40.

presses and suffering thirst, in the following part of the verse, and in that threatening of the Prophet Micah, “Thou shalt sow, “but thou shalt not reap; *thou shalt tread “the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee “with oil*; and sweet wine, but shalt not “drink wine².” Those words then of Job are certainly mistranslated, and the version of *Schultens* to be adopted, *inter pedementa eorum meridianur*, (they work at mid-day among their rows of vines); or rather, more conformably to our translation, and to the preceding account of *Egmont* and *Heyman*, “they work at mid-day among their *walls*, “they tread wine-presses, and suffer thirst.”

*Buxtorf*³ supposes this sense of the word *Shuroth* is properly Chaldaic, because the Chaldee Paraphrast every where uses the term *Shur* for the Hebrew word *Chomab* (a wall); but if this should be admitted, it affords no argument against the book of Job's being written by *Moses*, according to the common supposition, since he uses the like term in the same *Chaldaic* sense in the *Pentateuch*, *Gen. xlix. 22*.

Possibly the guarding against the depredations of *jackalls*, was one reason inducing them to build walls about their vineyards, since we are assured by *Hasselquist*⁴, *that these animals are very numerous in Palestine, especially during the vintage, often destroying whole vineyards, and fields of cucumbers*. It

² Ch. 6. 15.³ Epit. Rad. Heb.⁴ P. 127.

it was, there was something extremely farcastic in those words of Tobiah the Ammonite, “ Even that which they build, if a fox [a jackall] go up, he shall even break down their stone-walls,” Nehem. iv. 3.—*if a jackall should set himself to force a way through, he would break down their stone-wall, designed to defend their capital city, but not so strong as a common vineyard-wall: well might Nehemiah say, when he was told it, “ Hear, “ O our God, for we are despised: and turn “ their reproach upon their own head,” ver. 4.*

The insupportable heat of mid-day in these countries has been taken notice of in a preceding chapter⁵; to which might be added, in this place, the great augmentation of the heat to those that are near walls, from the reflected rays of the sun, which is so great, that Dr. Ruffell tells us, *that had not Providence wisely ordered it, that the westerly winds are the most frequent in summer at Aleppo, the country would scarcely have been habitable, considering the intense heat of the sun's rays, and the reflexion from a bare rocky tract of ground, and from the white stone walls of the houses*⁶.

And as Hasselquist observes⁷, that the wild beasts, particularly the jackalls, had their passages and *habitations* in the live fences near Joppa, it is quite natural to suppose this was one reason, at least, of raising stone-walls about their vineyards.

⁵ Ch. 3. Obs. 3. note.

⁶ P. 15.

⁷ P. 119.

OBSERVATION XVII.

VIII.

That numbers of the Israelites had *no wood* growing on their own lands, for their burning, must be imagined from this openness of their country.

It is certain, the Eastern villagers now have oftentimes little or none on their premises: so Ruffell says¹, that inconsiderable as the stream that runs by Aleppo, and the gardens about it, may appear, they, however, contain almost the *only trees* that are to be met with for twenty or thirty miles round, “for the villages are *all destitute of trees,*” and most of them only supplied with what rain-water they can save in cisterns. D’Arvieux² gives us to understand, that several of the present villages of the *Holy-Land* are in the same situation; for, observing that the Arabs burn cow-dung in their encampments, he adds, that all the villagers, who live in places where there is a scarcity of wood, take great care to provide themselves with sufficient quantities of this kind of fuel. This is a circumstance I have elsewhere taken notice of.

The Holy-Land appears, by the last Observation, to have been as little wooded anciently as at present; nevertheless the Israelites seem to have burnt wood very commonly, and without *buying* it too, from what

¹ P. 9. ² Voy. dans la Pal par la Roque, p. 192.

the Prophet says, Lam. v. 4, “ We have
 “ drunken our water for money, our *wood*
 “ is sold unto us.” Had they been wont to
 buy their fewel, they would not have com-
 plained of it as such an hardship.

The true account of it seems to be this :
 The woods of the land of Israel being from
 very ancient times common, the people of
 the villages, which, like those about Aleppo,
 had no trees growing in them, supplied them-
 selves with fewel out of these wooded places,
 of which there were many anciently, and fe-
 veral that still remain. This liberty of tak-
 ing wood *in common* the Jews suppose to
 have been a constitution of J Joshua, of which
 they give us ten ; the first, giving liberty to
 an Israelite to feed his flock in the woods of
 any tribe ; the second, that it should be free
 to take wood in the fields any where³. But
 though this was the ancient custom in Ju-
 dæa, it was not so in the country into which
 they were carried captives ; or if this text of
 Jeremiah respects those that continued in
 their own country for a while under Ged-
 aliah, as the 9th verse insinuates, it signifies
 that their conquerors possessed themselves of
 these woods, and would allow no fewel to
 be cut down without leave, and that leave
 was not to be obtained without money. It
 is certain, that presently after the return
 from the captivity, *timber* was not to be cut
 without leave, Neh. ii. 8.

³ Vide Rel. Pal. p. 261.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

IX.

However, open as these countries are in common, there are some dangerous passes. So Maundrell, describing † the passage out of the jurisdiction of the Bassa of Aleppo into that of him of Tripoli, tells us the road was rocky and uneven, but attended with variety. “ Sometimes it led us under the
 “ cool shade of thick trees : sometimes
 “ through narrow vallies, watered with fresh
 “ murmuring torrents : and then for a good
 “ while together upon the brink of a precipice. And in all places it treated us with
 “ the prospect of plants and flowers of divers kinds ; as myrtles, oleanders, cyclamens, &c.—Having spent about two
 “ hours in this manner, we descended into
 “ a low valley : at the bottom of which is
 “ a fissure into the earth, of a great depth ;
 “ but withal so narrow, that it is not discernible to the eye till you arrive just upon
 “ it, though to the ear a notice of it is
 “ given at a great distance, by reason of the
 “ noise of a stream running down into it
 “ from the hills. We could not guess it to be
 “ less than thirty yards deep. But it is so
 “ narrow, that a small arch, not four yards
 “ over, lands you on its other side. They
 “ call it *the Sheck's Wife* : a name given it

† P. 5, 6.

“ from

“ from a woman of that quality, who fell
 “ into it, and, I need not add, perished.”

May not Solomon refer to some such a dangerous place as this, when he says, “ The
 “ mouth of a strange woman is a *deep pit* :
 “ he that is abhorred of the Lord, shall fall
 “ therein,” Prov. xxii. 14; and, “ An whore
 “ is a *deep ditch*; and a strange woman is
 “ a *narrow pit*,” Prov. xxiii. 27. The
 flowery pleasures of the place, where this fa-
 tal pit was, make the allusion still more strik-
 ing. How agreeable to sense the path that
 led to this *chamber of death*!

X.

OBSERVATION XIX.

La Roque, describing, from the papers of
 d'Arvieux, the hospitality maintained in the
 Arab villages, tells us, that as soon as the
 Cheikh, who is as the lord of it, is inform-
 ed that strangers are coming, he goes to
 meet them; and, having saluted them,
 marches before them to the Menzil, or place
 set apart for the reception of strangers; if
 they are disposed to dine or lodge in the vil-
 lage. But la Roque gives us to understand,
 that frequently these travellers only just stop
 to take a bit, and then go on; and that in
 such a case they are wont to choose to stay
 out of the village, *under some tree*; upon
 which the Cheikh goes or sends his people
 to the village to bring them a collation,
 which, as there is no time to dress meat for
 them,

them, consists of eggs, butter, curds, honey, olives, and fruit, fresh or dried, according to the time of year; and after they have eaten, they take leave of the Cheikh, who commonly eats with them, and at least bears them company, thank him, and pursue their journey¹.

This, besides the use I made of it in another place², may serve to explain that passage in which our Lord represents a great man's making a supper, and, on being disappointed of guests, sending first for the poor of the place, and then for those in the highways and *hedges*, who were to be compelled to go and fill the house, Luke xiv. 23. Those in the highways were strangers passing on without any intention of stopping; and those under the hedges, where travellers *frequently did sit down*, such as had even declared an averseness to stay any time, and only just sat down a moment to take a little refreshment. The sheltering themselves under *trees and hedges*, doth not import, as some eminent commentators have imagined, their being the poorest and most helpless of travellers, which doth not at all agree with the *pressing* them to come in, as some of them have themselves remarked, for such must be supposed to have been ready enough to come; but that circumstance points out their being strangers, *by no means inclined* to receive

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 125. ² Ch. 4.

such a favour, as it would so retard them as to break their measures.

The running to and fro by the *hedges*, which a Prophet speaks of³, refers to something very different from this, and has been unhappily explained. Some have supposed, it signifies hiding in the *thickets*; but the word does not signify *hedges*, *strictly speaking*, but rather the *walls* of a garden, and consequently thickets cannot be meant. Others suppose the meaning of the passage is, that their cities should be destroyed, and only the *villages* of Ammon should remain, among which they were to lament; but garden-walls, as well as hedges, were about their cities, and not about their villages, if we may judge of antiquity by modern managements: so Rauwolff describes the gardens that lie about Tripoli, and mentions those of Jerufalem, as Maundrell does those of Damascus; whereas the *villages*, according to Ruffell, cited under the last Observation but one, have no trees about them. Others imagine, Jeremiah bids them hide in their *gardens*; but, I believe, no instance can be produced, where these were thought to be fit places of concealment in time of war. I would dismiss therefore all these conjectures, and observe, that their *places of burial* in the East are *without* their cities, as well as their gardens, and consequently their going to them must often be by their *garden-walls*;

³ Jer. 49. 3.

that the *ancient warriors of distinction*, who were slain in battle, were wont to be carried to the *sepulchres of their fathers*, as appears by the cases of Jofiah, Ahab, and Afahel⁴; and that they often go to weep over the graves of those they would honour, and especially at first⁵: Observations which, put together, sufficiently account for the passage.

OBSERVATION XX.

XI.

Though numerous caravans, or companies of travellers, are common to the Eastern roads; there is something particular, in the annual travelling of those great bodies of people that go in pilgrimage to Mecca, through the deserts: upon which, as it may serve, in the most striking, and at the same time the most easy manner, to illustrate the travelling of Israel through some of those very deserts, I shall here make some remarks.

“The first day we set out from *Mecca*,” saith Pitts, in his description of his return from thence, “it was without any order at all, all
“hurly-burly: but the next day every one
“laboured to get forward; and in order to
“it there was many times much quarrelling
“and fighting. But after every one had

⁴ 2 Kings 23. 29, 30, 1 Kings 22. 37, 2 Sam. 2. 32.
⁵ See ch. 6.

“ taken his place in the *caravan*, they or-
 “ derly and peaceably kept the same place till
 “ they came to *Grand Cairo*. They travel
 “ four camels in a breast, which are all tied
 “ one after the other, like as in *teams*. The
 “ whole body is called a *caravan*, which is
 “ divided into several *cottors*, or *companies*,
 “ each of which has its name, and consists,
 “ it may be, of several thousand camels;
 “ and they move, one cottor after another,
 “ like distinct troops. In the head of each
 “ cottor is some great gentleman, or officer,
 “ who is carried in a thing like a *horse-litter*,
 “ &c.—In the head of every cottor there
 “ goes likewise a *sumpter* camel, which car-
 “ ries his treasure, &c. This camel hath
 “ two bells, about the bigness of our *mar-*
 “ *ket-bells*, hanging one on each side, the
 “ found of which may be heard a great way
 “ off. Some others of the camels have round
 “ bells about their necks, some about their
 “ legs, like those which our carriers put a-
 “ bout their *fore-horses* necks; which, toge-
 “ ther with the servants, (who belong to the
 “ camels, and travel on foot,) singing all
 “ night, make a pleasant noise, and the jour-
 “ ney passes away delightfully. They say *this*
 “ *musick* makes the camels brisk and lively.
 “ Thus they travel, in good order, every
 “ day, till they come to *Grand Cairo*; and
 “ were it not for this order, you may guess
 “ what confusion would be among such a
 “ vast multitude.

“ They

“ They have lights by night (which is
 “ the chief time of travelling, because of
 “ the exceeding heat of the sun by day,)”
 “ which are carried on the tops of high
 “ poles to direct the haggēs¹ in their march.”

I think we may from hence form some idea, of the *office* and *figure* of those *princes of the tribes* whose oblations are mentioned in Numbers, chap. vii. They doubtless appeared very much like the princes of these Mohammedan cottors.

The appointing those princes, and the *prescribing the order* of those encampments, must have been necessary, since there is *now* so much confusion in these pilgrimages at first setting out, where the numbers of people are much smaller than those of Israel, as we may learn from what Maillet says² of the caravan that went from Ægypt to Mecca, in the year 1697, which, according to him, was more considerable than any that had gone from thence to that place for twenty years before, and which, nevertheless, *they did not pretend* much exceeded one hundred thousand souls, and as many camels; and this Maillet even supposes was too large a computation, and that half that number was a great deal nearer the truth. The Israelites who went out of Ægypt were much more numerous.

¹ Pilgrims.

² Let. dern. p. 228.

XII.

OBSERVATION XXI.

The *night* was the chief time of travelling for this great multitude, through these deserts, when Pitts went to Mecca; and the Eastern journies are oftentimes performed, on account of the heat, in the night¹.

Thevenot, however, travelled here in the day-time, passing through these deserts in January, and even found the mornings before the sun was up cold; and what is more extraordinary, it seems that Egmont and Heyman, who travelled to Mount Sinai in the month of July², travelled here a good deal in the day-time, and found very refreshing breezes. Moses, in like manner, supposes the cloud, which regulated their marches, was sometimes taken up by *day*, and sometimes by *night*, Numb. ix. 21, doubtless, according to the *season*, or the *temperature* of the air, which a merciful God regarded in giving that signal; and thus we find that Egmont and Heyman's conductors were so careful of their camels, and the *heat of the sun* was so excessive, in the last day of their journey to Sinai, that when they were only an hour and a half from the convent, they would not move a step farther, but waited

[¹ Sir J. Chardin has remarked, that this appears from Luke 11. 5, 7, where a friend on his journey is supposed to come at midnight; and he tells us this frequently happens there.] ² Vol. 2. p. 148.

till the declining of the sun made it more tolerable³. It appears however from hence, that had we an account of the time that Israel removed from stage to stage, as to its being by *day* or *night*, we could not from thence determine, with certainty, the *time of the year* in which those removals were made, since they that were so careful of their camels travelled by day *in July*, in these deserts.

OBSERVATION XXII.

XIII.

There is something very amusing, in Pitts's account of the *singing* in the night of the servants that attended those camels; and this circumstance of those *sacred journies* may be explanatory of the singing of the Israelites, in their return to Jerufalem, which the Prophet speaks of, Is. li. 11, as well as lead us to imagine it was what was common in their going thither three times a year¹.

But the sounding of the bells, which he tells us were fastened to some of the camels, doth not seem to have any thing to do with

³ P. 154. ¹ Some have supposed those fifteen Psalms, which are each entitled, "A Song of Degrees," relate to the ascent of Israel out of the Babylonish captivity; may they not rather be thus marked, to denote they were wont to be sung in the journies of Israel *up* to Jerufalem from time to time? The Eastern people are wont to sing in their journies; these psalms suit such travellers; and the singular of that word translated *degrees* signifies going up to Jerufalem, Ezra 7. 9.

Zech. xiv. 20. They are, according to our translation, *bells of horses* that the Prophet mentions, but it is not the word that is used for the bells on one of the vestments of Aaron; nor do I remember to have met with any account of *horses* decked after this manner in the East; nor, if they were, doth it easily appear why these should be consecrated unto God: as then the word may be taken for some covering of the horses; and they were the creatures that were in those times, as well as now, particularly used in war; and as they are camels, not horses, that are adorned with bells in travelling; these considerations may serve *a little* to establish the explanation the learned Mr. Lowth has given us from the Chaldee, supposing the word our version translates *bells* signifies *warlike trappings* of horses. These were to be *holiness to the Lord*: that is, perhaps, not only laid up for a memorial before God, as he remarks; but never to be put to their former use more, which things that were laid up in the Temple sometimes were².

[However, Sir John Chardin, in his MS. notes on this verse, has given a different turn to these words, which, whether perfectly just or not, is very amusing to the imagination. After mentioning the Arabic translation, which signifies that that which should be upon the *bridle of an horse* should be holiness to the Lord, he informs us, that *something*

² See 1 Sam. 21. 9.

like this is seen in several places of the East: in Persia, in Turkey, the reins are of silk, of the thickness of a finger, on which are wrought the name of God, or other inscriptions.

The words of the Prophet naturally lead us to think of the mitre of the Jewish High-Priest, on a plate of gold of which was engraven *Holiness to the Lord*; but whether Zechariah meant that marks of devotedness to the God of Israel should appear, in their travelling to Jerusalem to worship there, as strong as if the inscription on the forehead of Aaron should be embroidered on the bridles of their horses, and the highest reverence for him, and care to avoid all pollution, should appear in all the habitations in Jerusalem at that time; or whether Mr. Lowth's is the true interpretation, I will not take upon me to decide: I will only beg leave to observe, that Sir John's account removes all difficulty from uniting an *inscription and bridle* together, which is the marginal reading; and that it seems better to agree with the subsequent thought, of every pot in Jerusalem and Judah being *holiness to the Lord*, which *pots* never had any concern with war, or were to be supposed to be in any danger of being applied to such a purpose afterwards.]

XIV.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

Pitts goes on, in his account of his return from Mecca, with describing those *lights* by which they travel in the night in the desert, and which are carried on the tops of high poles, to direct their march. “ They
 “ are somewhat like *iron* stoves, into which
 “ they put short dry wood, which some of
 “ the camels are loaded with ; it is carried
 “ in great sacks, which have an hole near
 “ the bottom, where the servants take it
 “ out, as they see the fires need a recruit.
 “ Every cottor hath one of these poles be-
 “ longing to it, some of which have ten,
 “ some twelve of these lights on their tops,
 “ or more or less ; and they are likewise of
 “ different figures, as well as numbers ; one,
 “ perhaps, *oval-way*, like a gate, another
 “ *triangular*, or like an *N*, or *M*, &c, so
 “ that every one knows by them his re-
 “ spective cottor. They are carried in the
 “ front, and set up in the place where the
 “ caravan is to pitch, before *that* comes up,
 “ at some distance from one another. They
 “ are also carried by day, not lighted ; but
 “ yet, by the figure and number of them,
 “ the haggas are directed to what cottor
 “ they belong, as soldiers are by their co-
 “ lours, where to rendezvous ; and without
 “ such directions it would be impossible to
 “ avoid

“ avoid confusion in such a vast number of
“ people.

“ Every day, *viz.* in the *morning*, they
“ pitch their tents, and rest several hours.
“ When the camels are unloaded, the own-
“ ers drive them to water, and give them
“ their provender, &c, so that we had no-
“ thing to do with them, besides helping to
“ load them.

“ As soon as our tents were pitched, my
“ business was to make a little fire, and
“ get a pot of coffee. When we had eat
“ some small matter, and drank the coffee,
“ we lay down to sleep. Between eleven
“ and twelve we boiled something for din-
“ ner, and having dined, lay down again
“ till about four in the afternoon, when
“ the *trumpet* was sounded, which gave no-
“ tice to every one to take down their tents,
“ pack up their things, and load their ca-
“ mels, in order to proceed in their jour-
“ ney. It takes up about two hours time
“ ere they are all in their places again.”

More than three thousand years have made
no alteration in the *signal* used to give notice
for decamping. The Mecca caravan now
moves upon blowing a trumpet; Moses made
use of the same signal, Numb. x¹.

But

[¹ Those Moses made use of were of *silver*, but it seems
some instruments of this kind were made of horns, Josh. 6.
8. It is commonly supposed rams-horns were made use
of, which Chardin in his MS. tells us are strangely long in
the East, and that such are used by the Dervises. Matius
however

But what I would chiefly observe in this narration, is the account he gives of the things that were made use of, in these pilgrimages, for the like purposes that flags are used in our armies. They are little iron machines, in which fires may be made, in order to guide them in their night-marches; and they are so contrived, as sufficiently to distinguish their respective cottors or tribes.

Things of this sort, I find, are used in other cases too: for Dr. Pococke tells us, that the caravan with which he visited the river Jordan, set out from thence in the evening, soon after it was dark, for Jerufalem, being

however doubts whether the horns of these animals were used by Joshua at Jericho, because those horns are solid. Sir John therefore proposed to see if Masius was not mistaken, and whether the horns used by the Dervises were those of buffalos or rams, which last he believed them to be. He does not however give us any account in his notes of the result of that enquiry, which is a little unhappy. But I am assured the horns of English sheep are hollow, or rather, having what they call a slug, are easily made so.

But whatever horns the Dervises carry with them, one use they put them to ought to be remarked, and that is, *their blowing their horns not unfrequently when any thing is given them, in honour of the donor.* This is mentioned in the MS. note on Matt. vi. 2. Another sense is indeed put on the words, and is mentioned in that note; but it is not impossible, that some of the poor Jews that begged alms might be furnished like the Persian Dervises, who are a sort of religious beggars, and that these hypocrites might be disposed to confine their alms-giving very much to such as they knew would pay them this honour. Thus much is certain, that if the modern Persian mode was in use in the time of our Lord, these Pharisees would have been very cold in giving alms to those that neglected it.]

lighted by chips of deal full of turpentine, burning in a *round iron frame*, fixed to the end of a pole, and arrived at Jerusalem a little before day-break². But he tells us also, that a little before this the pilgrims were called before the Governor of this caravan, by means of a *white standard*, that was displayed on an eminence near the camp, in order to enable him to ascertain his fees.

In the Mecca caravans they use nothing by day, it should seem, but the same moveable beacons, in which they burn those fires which distinguish each cottor in the night, for Pitts says nothing of flags, or any thing of that sort.

As travelling then *in the night* must be, generally speaking, most desirable to a great multitude in that desert, we may believe a compassionate God, for the most part, directed Israel to move *in the night*, and in consequence, must we not rather suppose the standards of the twelve tribes were moveable beacons, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, than flags, or any thing of that kind? Were not such sort of ensigns *necessary* for their *night-marches*? And since they who travel so much at their ease, and carry every convenience with them, think the same poles are sufficient for *their* purpose by day, without any flags, have we not reason to suppose Israel was not encumbered with flags in their march, but that their night-ensigns did for

² Vol. 2. p. 33.

them too when they travelled in the day-time, which, we may believe, was more rarely?

The *surprizing likeness* between the managements of the Mecca caravans, and that of Israel in the wilderness, in other points, strongly induces the belief of this.

Yet they have not been *children* only that have amused themselves with supposing, that a flag, on which was delineated the figure of a child, was the standard of Reuben; and that others, that had the representations of a lion and an ox, were those of Judah and Ephraim; &c. Jewish Rabbies *of the West* have proposed these conceits, and Christian Doctors have been pleased with them, so that they have been used sometimes by way of decoration in the frontispieces of our Bibles. Others have not admitted that images were used for this purpose, they have formed other suppositions³; but I do not know of any that have explained these standards of Israel after this manner, and supposed that they were differently-figured portable beacons.

This account may, at the same time, throw some light on two or three passages of the Canticles; which, on the other hand, may serve to establish this explanation.

“ My beloved is white and ruddy, the
“ chiefest among ten thousand,” says the

³ Bishop Patrick, on Numb. ii. 2, supposes the *name* of Judah, of Reuben, and of each of the other Patriarchs, might be embroidered in their ensigns; or that they might be distinguished by their colours only.

spouse, Cant. v. 10; or, “ a standard-bearer among ten thousand,” according to the margin. All the ground of making these words synonymous is, I presume, the supposing a standard-bearer the chiefest of the company, which by no means appears to be true: it is not so among the modern people of the East; any more than among us. I will not however press this, since it seems to be merely a slip of the translators, and that what is meant, is, *one before whom a standard is borne*; which is a mark of dignity in the East⁺, as well as in the West, and which the word must signify, if any thing of this sort [*dignity*] be meant, since it is a *passive*, not an active participle in the Hebrew: that is, the word doth not signify one that lifts up a banner, but one whom the lifting up the banner some how respects, or concerns. It is not however so natural, upon the whole, to understand this passage of one before whom an *ensign of dignity was borne*, because I have shewn that the original word is most probably to be understood of a *portable beacon*, which are necessary to travellers in the night, but not, that I know of, ever considered as marks of dignity on the one hand; whilst, on the other, a very easy sense may be put on the word, if it be understood of one of these Eastern flambeaux, for in that view the participle Pahul of the verb will signify enlightened, and consequently

⁺ See chap. 6.

dazzling,

dazzling, glistering, or something of that kind: and so the meaning of the spouse will appear to have probably been, that her bridegroom was dazzling beyond ten thousand, or was dazzling like a person surrounded by ten thousand lights.

The making out another expression, which occurs twice in the same book, has also appeared somewhat difficult, but may be illustrated perhaps by the same thought. *Terrible as an army with banners*, is the expression, which we meet with in the 4th, and again in the 10th verse of the sixth chapter of Canticles, where it is to be remarked that the word army is not in the original; and as it is supposed by Buxtorf, in his Concordance, to be the feminine plural of the passive participle, and consequently may be understood to signify *women embannered*, if that expression were allowable, women shone upon by lights that is, according to the preceding explanation; the meaning may with ease be understood to be, *My spouse is dazzling as women dressed in rich attire, surrounded by nuptial flambeaux, with which they are lighted home*. In this view, those words that follow this expression when first used, “Turn away thine eyes from me, for they have overcome me,” appear perfectly natural; as do also those that precede the second, “Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun?”

It may not be unfit to add, that those places that speak of the standards of the tribes, and these that I have endeavoured to illustrate in the Book of Canticles, are all the passages in which this Hebrew word occurs, excepting Pf. xx. 5, and Cant. ii. 4. The first wants no eclaircissement; and the applying this thought to the second, may, perhaps, give the easiest interpretation that can be found of that passage. *Love*, that is, *was the flambeau by which the bridegroom conducted her to the house of wine*: so love is compared to *flaming wood*, in this very book, ch. viii. 6, 7.

The word *beacon* occurs indeed in another place⁵, in our version; but it is not there that word in the original, which I am supposing signifies a portable beacon, but another, which may possibly incline my reader not to admit that sense I have been affixing to these passages, as unwilling to suppose there are two words in so scanty a language signifying *beacon*: it ought however to be remembered, that though our version renders it *beacon*, it signifies properly no more than a *sign*, whatever that sign might be, whether the sticking up a spear, displaying a flag, making a smoak, or any thing else; and it is somewhat strange that our translators should use so particular a term as *beacon*, to express a word of such a general meaning⁶.

⁵ If. 30. 17.

⁶ See Numb. 26. 10.

XV.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

When Moses begged of Hobab not to leave Israel, because they were to *encamp in the wilderness*, and he might be to them *instead of eyes*, Numb. x. 31, he doubtless meant that he might be a *guide* to them in the difficult journies they had to take in the wilderness: for so Job, when he would express his readiness to bring forward on their journey those that were enfeebled with sickness, or hurt by accidents, and to guide them in their way that were blind, or ignorant of it, says, *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame*, Job xxix. 15.

Every body, accordingly, at all acquainted with the *nature* of such deserts as Israel had to pass through, must be sensible of the great importance of having some of the natives of that country for guides: they know where *water* is to be found, and can lead to places proper, on that account, for encampments. Without their help travelling would be much more difficult in these deserts, and indeed often fatal. The importance of having these Arab guides appears, from such a number of passages in books of travels, that every one whose reading has at all turned this way, must be apprized of them; for which reason I shall cite none in particular. The application then of Moses to Hobab the Midianite, that is, to a principal Arab of the tribe
of

of Midian, would have appeared perfectly just, had it not been for this thought, that the cloud of the Divine Presence went before Israel, and directed their marches: of what consequence then could Hobab's journeying with them be?

A man would take more upon himself than he ought to do, that should affirm the attendance of such an one as Hobab was of no use to Israel, in their removing from station to station: it is very possible, the guidance of the cloud might not be so minute as *absolutely* to render his offices of no value. But I will mention another thing, that will put the *propriety* of this request of Moses quite out of dispute. The sacred history expressly mentions *several journies* undertaken by *parties* of the Israelites, while the main body laid still: so in Numb. xiii. we read of a party that was sent out to reconnoitre the land of Canaan; in ch. xx. of the messengers sent from Kadesh unto the King of Edom; in ch. xxxi. of an expedition against the idolatrous Midianites; of some little expeditions, in the close of ch. xxxii; and more journies, of the like kind, were without doubt undertaken, which are not particularly recounted. Now Moses, foreseeing something of this, might well beg the company of Hobab, not as a single Arab, but as a Prince of one of their clans, that he might be able to apply to him from time to time, for some of his people, to be conduc-

tors to those he should have occasion to send out to different places, while the body of the people, and the cloud of the Lord, continued unmoved.

Nor was their assistance only wanted with respect to *water*, when any *party* of them was sent out upon some expedition ; but the *whole congregation* must have had frequent need of them, for directions where to find *fuel*. *Manna* continually, and sometimes *water*, were given them miraculously ; their *clothes* also were exempted from decay while in the wilderness ; but *fuel* was wanted to *warm* them some part of the year, at all times to *bake* and *scibe* the manna, according to Exod. xvi. 23, and was never obtained but in a natural way, that we know of: for this then they wanted the assistance of such Arabs as were perfectly acquainted with that desert. So Thevenot, describing his travelling *in this very desert*, says, on the night of the 25th of January they rested in a place where was some *broom*¹, for that their guides never brought them to rest any where, (willingly we are to suppose,) but in places where they could find some fuel, not only to warm them, but for preparing their coffee and *mafrouca*². He complains also of their resting-place on the night of the 28th of January, on the account of their not being able to find any wood there, not so much

¹ Part 1. p. 163.

² What the *mafrouca* is, may be seen under Chap. 4. Obs. 2.

as to boil coffee³. A like complaint he makes of the night between the eighth and ninth of February, when not being able to get into Suez, he was obliged to lay without the gate till it was day, suffering a great deal of cold, because they had no wood to make a fire⁴.

Moses hoped Hobab would be instead of eyes to the Israelites, both with respect to the guiding their parties to wells and springs in the desert, and the giving the people in general notice where they might find fuel: for though they frequently make use in this desert of camels-dung for fuel⁵, this could not, we may imagine, wholly supply their wants; and in fact, we find the Israelites sought about for other firing⁶.

³ P. 165. ⁴ P. 172. ⁵ See Shaw's Pref. p. 12.

⁶ Numb. 15, 32, 33. [There is one circumstance attending these deserts, which Sir J. Chardin has mentioned in one of his MSS, so curious, that I cannot but set it down here, though I do not know that it illustrates any passage of Scripture, and though, I think, I have seen it in other writers, who however have not been so explicit and large in their accounts. *There is a splendor, or vapour, in the plains of the desert, he says, formed by the repercussion of the rays of the sun from the sand, that appears like a vast lake. Travellers of the desert, afflicted with thirst, are drawn on by such appearances, but coming near, find themselves mistaken: it seems to draw back as they advance, or quite vanishes. I have seen this in several places. Q. Curtius takes notice of it, in speaking of Alexander the Great in Susiana. Odd phænomenon this! May we suppose it is referred to by the Prophet, Jer. 15. 18?*]

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